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MEMOIRS

OF THE COURT OF

AUGUSTUS.

Continued, and completed, from the original Papers of the late

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VOL. VII.

BASIL:
Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.
MDCCVC.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

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MEMOIRS

OF THE COURT OF

AUGUSTUS.

BOOK XV.

LET us now take a curſory View of the State of the *Roman* Empire about this Time.

Italy, the Seat of Dominion, was guarded by three Fleets; one ſtationed at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic*; another at Cape *Miſeno*, near *Naples*; and the third ſecured the Gulphs of *Genoa* and *Marſeilles*, near to the *Gallic* Shore. This laſt conſiſted of a Squadron of Ships of War taken from *Antony* at the naval Engagement at *Actium*; — ſtout Ships well manned, and whoſe Rendezvous was at *Frejuls* in *Provence*. But the greateſt Strength, and Nerves, as it were, of the Empire, lay upon the *Rhine*. There, beſides a great Number of Ships, eight Legions (the Legion conſiſted of ſix thouſand Men) lay as a common Safe-Guard to *Gaul* and *Germany*. The wide Country of late-conquered *Spain* was bridled with three Legions. That Diſtrict of *Africa* which had not been given off to young *Juba* was kept in Awe by one Legion,

— and in Caſe of a Revolt, by two. A like Number was thought ſufficient to keep the once powerful, and now enervated, Kingdom of *Egypt* in its Duty. *Judea*, *Syria*, and all the vaſt Tract from *Egypt* to the *Euphrates*, bowed before four Legions; who were alſo deemed ſufficient to protect the *Iberian*, *Albanian*, and *Pontic* Kings, from the Inſults of the *Parthians* and *Tartars*. *Thrace* had its own Princes, — the Poſterity of *Sadacel*, *Rhefcuporis*, and *Cotys*: But the Banks of the *Danube* were fortified with a Force equal to that upon the Borders of the *Euphrates*, which was four Legions; — two in *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, and *Hungary*; — and two, or ſometimes three, in *Servia* and *Bulgaria*. The new Conqueſt, *Dalmatia*, neareſt to *Italy*, juſt on the oppoſite Shore, had a Body of twelve thouſand Men, ſettled in it by *Auguſtus*. They lay, as it were, at the Back of the Legions in *Upper Germany*; and, at the ſame Time, were at Hand in Caſe of any Commotion in *Italy*. The City of *Rome* had its proper Guard, three Cohorts of trained Bands, making twelve hundred Men; and the Pretorian Bands, who were the Prince's Life-Guards, amounting to four thouſand five hundred. Theſe were underſtood to be all native *Italians*, principally levied in *Tuſcany*, *Romagna*, *Urbino*, and the *Campagna di Roma*. — Beſide theſe ſtanding Forces, it was generally allowed, that the Auxiliaries obliged to take Arms, and march out of the ſeveral Provinces, at the Call of a *Roman* General, were equal in Number to the native Armies of *Rome*:

So that, excluſive of their Marines and naval Power, the military Eſtabliſhment under *Auguſtus*, (the Produce of the Virtue he had finally deſtroyed), was about one hundred and fifty-five thouſand legionary Troops, all ſuppoſed to be native *Romans*; — and, taking in the Auxiliaries, the whole amounted to three hundred and ten thouſand fighting Men.

It is now worth While to learn the *Uſe* that was made of this great Force, and what *End* it principally ſerved. "From the Time," ſays the accurate *Tacitus*, "that *Auguſtus* ſettled the Affairs "of the *Cæſarean* Family, the *Roman* People had "fought upon this Foot, *That their Victories* "*brought Glory, and their Defeats Solicitude to one* "*Man* [1], while the Body of the State was little "affected by Diſaſters, or bettered by Succeſs. "During the Reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, "the People taſted only the bitter Fruits of Tyranny, "in Time of Peace. The Attempt of *Furius* "*Camillus Scribonianus* againſt *Claudius* was ſup-"preſſed almoſt as ſoon as begun, (in five Days). "*Nero* was driven from the Throne, more by "News and Meſſages, than by Force of Arms. "But after the Death of *Galba*, in the Struggle "between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, not only the Legions "and Fleets of the Republic, but the Pretorian

[1] Nam ex quo Divus Auguſtus res Cæſarum compoſuit, procul, & in *unius* Sollicitudinem aut Decus Populi Romani bellaverat.

Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. I.

" Cohorts, the Life-Guards, and the City Trained-
" Bands, were led out to Battle." — Let us review them when about to enter upon Action, and obſerve the *Figure* which the once warlike *Romans* made, after a few Reigns of Slavery and Idleneſs.

Otho, ſays the ſame ſagacious Author, ordered many of the chief Men in Office, and the greater Part of thoſe of conſular Dignity, to prepare to accompany him on his Expedition; — not as Officers to take Part in the War, but as Companions and Counſellors. — The Town was immediately filled with Anxiety and Trouble: — No Rank was exempt from Apprehenſions. The Chiefs of the Senate, ancient Men, bowing under Years, were become unwieldy with long Peace; the lazy Nobility had been long diſuſed to Arms, and had forgotten what War was: — Nor were the Gentry much better acquainted with the Service. But all of them, the more they ſtrove to hide their Terror, the more they betrayed it. — Nor were there wanting Fools among them, who, through a vain Oſtentation, purchaſed coſtly and reſplendent Arms, and trained Horſes; while ſome others provided Kitchen-Utenſils, and Waggons of Females, as Part of their Camp-Equipage.

But, without going ſo low down, the *Romans* became quite another People during the latter peaceful Period of the Life of *Auguſtus*. Before that, the Body of the Citizens was ſtrictly a *Militia*. All the Youths bore Arms, learned to ride the War-Horſe, to dart the Spear, and wield the *Roman* Sword. — It had been ſo all over

Italy. — Now, the Reverſe took Place. The Name of Soldier was, for the beſt of Reaſons, become odious. They took another Turn. They gave themſelves up to Shows; loved the Theatres better than their Farms; became mean, worthleſs, and debauched; and fought only with their Tongues, like our *Cavaliers* over their Cups. — The military Power was confined to the ſtanding Army, which made the Loſs of a Legion almoſt irreparable; and the Command of the Troops was generally given to Soldiers of Fortune, Men of obſcure Birth. — The Seaſon of the *Roman* Republic's producing Heroes was paſt and gone. The Toils and Dangers abroad, which firſt hardened the aſpiring Youth; the Struggles and Prizes at Home, which inflamed their Ambition; and the Spirit of Liberty, which breathed vital Vigor through the whole, were now no more. — Though her external Form remained, the deplorable Revolution, which had altered her inward Parts, rendered *Rome* incapable of producing any more *Metelli*, *Scipios*, or *Catos*: — But ſhe produced many polite artful Men, of a nice Taſte in Dreſs, Equipage, and Cookery; abject Slaves of Power, and Flatterers of the *Cæſarean* Family.

Under the Republic, the Citizens depended on *themſelves*, their *own* Virtue, Spirit, and Activity, for the Honors of their Country, and the Eſtabliſhment both of their Fortunes and Reputation. Now, they depended on the Will or Caprice of one Man, whom they called *the Prince*. —— Under the Republic, the annual Succeſſion to Offices

circulating among the Citizens, put it in the Power of the great Men to oblige one another, by employing their Friends in Provincial Buſineſs, and taking Care of their Intereſt. This mutual ſucceſſive Intercourſe begot a friendly Correſpondence, and linked the chief Men by mutual good Offices. — That Chain was now broken; and inſtead of applying to a noble *Roman*, or high ſpirited Commoner, your Equals, for a Favor; you muſt now cringe to a Creature of *Cæſar*'s, — perhaps ſome favorite Freed-Man, ſome little Minion or Paraſite, to recommend your Requeſt. — What a Picture of ſlaviſh Submiſſion is *Seneca*'s Addreſs to *Polybius*, the driveling *Claudius*'s Favorite.

There were ſtill Appearances of the two old Parties, the Friends to the Republic, and the Friends to *Cæſar*. Without Show or Profeſſion, the latter were ſecretly favored and preferred; whilſt the former were kept out of Power, and excluded from the Honors of their Country. — As, ſoon after the Reſtoration, a Stigma of Hypocriſy was put upon all the Parliament's Party; ſo now, the Courtiers affected to talk of the zealous *Pompeians*, as they termed them, that is Friends to Liberty, as half-mad; — Men without Diſcretion; ignorant of the World, and of the Nature of Government. *Cæſar*, however, artful and wiſe, allowed it to go no farther than *Sneering*; and this Moderation was the true Reaſon of his Safety, and the ſubſtantial Meaſure that ſecured his Government. It could not, at firſt, protect his Perſon from the Attempts of particular Men, Youths

bred up in high Notions of Liberty and Honor; though, in Proceſs of Time, it prevented even theſe: But it effectually broke the Union, and conſequently eluded the Force of the old republican Party, which Cruelty and Oppreſſion muſt have cemented, and by irritating their Spirits have brought Matters to a new Sruggle and Criſis, that would have again involved him in the Riſques and Devaſtations of another civil War. He therefore actually courted the chief Men in the *Pompeian* Party, to come and take Part with him in the Management of Affairs, and, as I ſaid before, employed ſome of them, who had borne Arms againſt him, as his chief Miniſters. *Piſo*, *Meſſala*, and *Domitius*, were of this Number. — A Prince, who cannot forgive, has no Title to Love, nor Abilities to rule.

Auguſtus's great Talent was a true Diſcernment of the Tempers, Spirits, and Abilities of Mankind. — It was a principal Part of his Skill in Government, to know the chief Men that compoſed his Court, and to indulge them in ſuch of their Inclinations as did not immediately ſhock his Power. — Thus *Agrippa* and *Piſo* were humored in their Love of Power and Magnificence (but their Power muſt be ſhown abroad, and their Grandeur at Home); *Meſſala* in his Love of Liberty, and the old Forms of the Common-Wealth; *Aſinius Pollio* in his haugthy Liberty of Speech, and Contempt of the common Reſtraints; the other *Pollio* (*Vedius*) in his Luxury; and each, as his Genius led him, might build or

triumph, domineer in the Senate, debauch, or declaim againſt the preſent Corruptions, and extol the paſt Age, without Fear of Puniſhment from *Auguſtus*, who yet knew them all perfectly, and, for his own Sake, bore with them, and with the greateſt Dexterity played them upon one another.

We have a pretty remarkable Inſtance of this in *Seneca* [2], with Reſpect to *Aſinius Pollio*. — *Timagenes*, one of the learned *Greeks* who were acceptable to the Great at *Rome*, was a Hiſtorian and Philoſopher by Profeſſion. He lived with *Auguſtus* for ſome Time, but could not refrain from venting Sarcaſms againſt him, his Wife, and all his Family. They were picked up and ſpread: for that raſh Kind of Wit is generally taking and much repeated. *Auguſtus* often warned him to be more diſcrete; and, at Length, upon his perſiſting in his ill-natured Jokes, forbid him the Court. *Aſinius Pollio* then took him under his Protection, and kept him till he grew old. Notwithſtanding his ſnarling Temper, he was much careſſed by all the People of Faſhion; nor did the Shutting of *Cæſar*'s Houſe prevent his Admittance into any other. When *Auguſtus* was told whither he was gone, he never quarrelled with *Pollio* about it, but only ſaid he had taken a wild Beaſt into his Houſe: And when the other was making ſome Excuſe; *No, no*, Pollio, ſaid he, *enjoy him, enjoy him, he is good for diverting the Spleen.* Sir, ſaid *Pollio*, if you deſire it, I will immediately forbid him my Houſe. *By no Means*, replied *Au-*

[2] Lib. III. c. 23. De ira.

guſtus, do you think that I, who made up your Friendſhip, would deſire any ſuch Thing?

There was a great Similitude of Character and Fortune between *Aſinius Pollio* and *Cornelius Gallus*. Both were Men of obſcure Birth, great Parts, and high Spirit; both learned, haughty, and owing their Exaltation to perſonal Merit. — Their Friendſhip was proportionable. *Pollio* ſent his Compoſitions from *Spain* to *Gallus* at *Rome*, and deſires *Cicero*, if he has a Mind to read a *Pretexta* of his, to aſk *Cornelius Gallus* for it [3]. This Friendſhip was probably the Reaſon why the Surname of *Gallus* was given to *Pollio*'s Son, *Aſinius Gallus*, who, as far as the Court and Times he lived in (thoſe of *Tiberius*) would allow, ſhowed that he had inherited both his Father's Eloquence, and his reſolute Spirit. *Pliny* tells us of his giving 9000 l. [4] for a Cedar Table. — *Aſinius Pollio* died at his Seat at *Tuſculum*, in the 755th. Year of *Rome*, and 80th. of his Age.

The *Romans*, in general, were now reconciled to their new Government. Their once high Notions of independant Liberty were gone, and their preſent Eaſe and Tranquillity ſeemed to the many a far preferable State. — On the other Hand, *Auguſtus* omitted no Pains to make them really ſatisfied and happy. Every Art was uſed to keep up the old *Forms*, and every Method practiſed to extirpate Abuſes and eſtabliſh a proper Order. The Senators, though required to be very regular

[3] *Aſin. Poll.* Epiſt. ad Cicer.

[4] HS xj.

in their Attendance, when any important Affair was to be debated, were now indulged with an annual Receſs from Buſineſs during two Months of the Year, *September* and *October*; at which Time the Senate was reduced to what we ſhould call a Committee, conſiſting of only a hundred Members choſen by Lot, inſtead of four hundred, which was the loweſt Number otherwiſe neceſſary to make a Decree.

A new Prerogative was likewiſe granted to the Pretors; — that of propoſing to the Senate a Subject to be debated. They had this Privilege of Courſe, while the Republic ſubſiſted; becauſe the Conſuls being then often obliged to be abſent from *Rome* upon Buſineſs of the State, the Pretors, who were next to them in Dignity, of Right took their Places, and, at thoſe Times, not only propoſed Affairs in the Senate, but preſided there. — But, as the Conſuls now reſided conſtantly in *Rome*, the Pretors had no longer any Function in the Senate: A Circumſtance which hurt them the more, as the Tribunes, whoſe Office was inferior to them in Point of Rank, enjoyed this Diſtinction, of which they were deprived. They repreſented this to *Auguſtus*, who thought their Complaint well-founded, and redreſſed the Grievance.

Bribery, to obtain Offices, had not yet been entirely extirpated, either by the Change of Government, or the new Laws againſt it. In the Year of *Rome* 744, *Auguſtus* tried a Method, which a Paſſage in *Cato*'s Life had, probably,

ſuggeſted to him. Every Candidate was to depoſit a Sum of Money in his Hands, to be forfeited in Caſe they were convicted of illicit Liberalities. This Medium betwixt a mean Connivance, and a Rigor which might have branded great Names, was extremely applauded.

The Caſe was otherwiſe in regard to a Subtilty he deviſed, in Order to elude the Law, which forbid putting Slaves to the Torture in criminal Proceſſes againſt their Maſter. Rightly judging that this Law tended to favor ſecret Plotting and Conſpiracies, the only Danger he now had to fear, he cauſed a new one to be paſſed, purporting, that the Slaves of Perſons accuſed of Crimes againſt the State, might be ſold to the Republic or the Emperor; by which Means they were no longer ſcreened from being put to the Rack, and there interrogated. This was a palpable Subterfuge, a flagrant Evaſion of the Letter of the Law, and an enormous Abuſe, by which the Lives of Maſters were thus put into the Power of their Slaves; and many complained of it as ſuch: — But the more moderate excuſed it, as a Precaution neceſſary for the Safety of his Perſon.

What greatly contributed to palliate this, and to give a Sanction to all *Auguſtus*'s other Regulations, was, that he did not proceed in any of them with the leaſt Show of abſolute Authority, but conſtantly ſubmitted them to the Examination of the Senate, and ordered them to be fixed up in the Senate-Houſe, before they were paſſed,

that every Senator might read and conſider them, and ſpeak his Opinion freely. This Show of Moderation was extremely pleaſing, and highly politic. It gained the Hearts of the People, and ſecured their Compliance with whatever he deſired.

Thus did he maintain that wiſe Medium ſo difficult to be allied with ſovereign Power: — For it is above all Things neceſſary, ſays *Plutarch* [5], for a Prince to keep up the Authority of Command. But that Authority is not leſs maintained by refraining from what does not belong to it, than by exerting its legal Rights. He who ſoftens Things too much, or carries them too far, is, properly ſpeaking, no longer a Prince, but becomes either a Flatterer of the People, or a deſpotic Maſter; and conſequently muſt be either deſpiſed or hated.

Theſe Maxims were now the Soul of all *Auguſtus*'s Conduct: — He was Prince in what concerned the public Good, and a private Man in what related only to himſelf. — A Tax being impoſed by his Order, and levied under his Authority, he gave in a Declaration of his whole Eſtate, juſt as if he had been a common Citizen [6]. — The Senate and People having voluntarily taxed themſelves in Order to erect Statues to him, he received the Money, and laid it out in emblema-

[5] Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἄρχοντα σώζειν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν· σώζεται δὲ οὐχ ἧττον ἀπεχομένη τῶ μὴ προσήκοντος, ἢ περιεχομένη τῶ προσήκοντος ὁ δ' ἐνδιδοὺς, ἢ ἐπιλείνων, οὐ μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων, ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης γιγνόμενος, ἐμποιεῖ τὸ μισεῖν ἢ καταφρονεῖν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

Plut. in Compar. Theſei & Romuli.

[6] *Dio.* Lib. LIV. *Suet.* in Aug. § 53 — 57.

tical Repreſentations of public Welfare, Concord, and Peace, with which he embelliſhed the City. He even ordered the ſilver Statues, formerly erected to him, to be melted down; and bought, with their Produce, Tripods of Gold for the Temple of *Apollo Palatine.* — Such alſo were the Uſes which he made of the Preſents he frequently received, either from Bodies of Men, or from private Perſons: For there was, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, an open Commerce of Liberalities between him and all the Citizens. At the Beginning of every Year he received Gifts from whoever brought them, and returned others, juſt as Relations and Friends often do, to ſhow their mutual Regard. The whole State ſeemed to be his Family; and with what was thus given him, he purchaſed Statues to adorn the Squares and Streets of *Rome.*

Dion Caſſius [7] and *Suetonius* [8] mention a ſtrange Singularity concerning this Prince. They ſay, that, in Conſequence of a Dream, he turned Beggar on one Day of every Year, holding out his Hand, and receiving little Bits of Money which the common People gave him. — So true is it, that even the greateſt Geniuſes often have their unaccountable Oddities, — their ſuperſtitious Weakneſſes, if I may ſo term them; and that they almoſt always pay, in one Shape or other, the Tribute of Humanity.

[7] Ubi ſupra.
[8] In Aug, § XCI.

Cares more becoming his exalted Station, were thoſe which he took to provide for the Convenience and Safety of the City. He made the celebrated *Meſſala* Superintendant of the Aqueducts [9] and Common-Sewers; one of thoſe noble and truely uſeful Ornaments, for which *Rome* was principally indebted to *Agrippa*, who had bequeathed to the Emperor a great Number of Slaves, all of whom were now given to the Republic, for laborious and ſervile Works.

The Grandeur of *Rome* appeared both by its vaſt Extent and ſtately Streets; but more by the Magnificence of the public Works under Ground, I mean the amazing Aqueducts and Common-Sewers, dug like Channels for ſubterraneous Torrents. For if we attentively conſider the ſurpriſing Plenty of Water in ſo vaſt a City, firſt in the public and private Baths, then in the Fiſh-Ponds, Canals, Gardens, Villas, then think how far the Streams were brought, what Arcades were reared, what Mountains dug through, what Valleys filled up, we muſt acknowledge the *Roman* Aqueducts to have been the moſt ſtupendous Work in the known World [1]. — When the firſt Reſtorer of Learning, the elegant *Petrarch*, went to viſit *Rome*, he was afraid the

[9] *Frontin.* de Aquæduct.

[1] Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice Rivos
Quâ vix imbriferas tollerit Iris aquas?
Hos potius dicas creviſſe in Sidera Montes:
Tale gigantæum Græcia laudat Opus.
Rutilii Numantiani Itiner.

Sight of its Ruins would fall far ſhort of the Idea he had formed of its Magnificence from Books. But the very Ruins ſurpaſſed his Imagination; and upon viewing them carefully, he ſaid, That inſtead of wondering how ſuch a City ſhould conquer the World, he was rather ſurpriſed it ſhould be ſo long in doing it [2].

To prevent the frequent Miſchief which had ariſen from Fires in *Rome*, *Auguſtus* divided the City into fourteen Diſtricts, over each of which one of the annual Magiſtrates, either a Pretor, a Tribune, or an Edile, was to preſide; and under theſe were the Commiſſaries before appointed, who now received a Juriſdiction over the City-Slaves, till then commanded by the Ediles only, when their Aſſiſtance was wanted to extinguiſh a Fire. — But even this not proving ſufficient, a regular Patrole, conſiſting of ſeven Cohorts, compoſed of Freed-Men only, and commanded by a Knight, was eſtabliſhed about twelve Years after. This Inſtitution, which was an excellent Safeguard againſt Robberies and Murders as well as Fires, proved ſo extremely uſeful, that it became a perpetual, and, ere long, an honorable, Eſtabliſhment. When *Dion Caſſius* wrote, free-born Citizens did not ſcruple to belong to it. They had regular Pay, and Guard-Rooms in the City. The Commander of the Patrole is mentioned, and his Functions and Prerogatives are deſcribed, in the *Roman* Law.

[2] Jam non Orbem ab hac Urbe domitum, ſed tam ſerè domitum, miror. *Lib.* II. Ep. 14.

Auguſtus was equally attentive to the Welfare of the Provinces, and of Individuals. The *Aſiatics* having ſuffered greatly by Earth-quakes in the Year 740, he paid their Tribute out of his own Money; ſending to the public Treaſury the Sum to which it amounted [3]. It is true this Payment, made out of the Prince's Coffers to the Treaſury of the Republic, was a Kind of Joke; the Emperor having equally the Command of both. — But the Province was not the leſs really exempted from a Year's Tribute.

Being told that *Gallus Tetrinius*; a Senator, of whom he had but little Knowledge, was exceſſively afflicted at having loſt his Sight ſuddenly; and had reſolved to ſtarve himſelf; he went to him, comforted him, and prevailed upon him to lay aſide that dreadful Reſolution [4]. — *T. Arius*, a rich Man, (which is all we know of him [5]), having diſcovered that his Son had formed a Deſign to murder him; reſolved to judge the Criminal himſelf; and, to proceed with the greater Solemnity, erected in his own Houſe a domeſtic Tribunal, compoſed of Men of known Probity; — the *Roman* Law giving Parents a Right to judge their Children. *Auguſtus* was invited, went,

[3] *Dio.* Lib. LIV.

[4] *Suet.* in Aug. § LIII.

[5] Unleſs *T. Arius* be the ſame with *L. Tarius Ruſus*, (mentioned by *Pliny*, Lib. XVIII. c. 6.), who, from the loweſt Origin, raiſed himſelf by his Merit, and *Auguſtus*'s Favor, to the higheſt Honors, and the Conſulſhip. An inadvertent Copyiſt may eaſily have written *Tarius* inſtead of *T. Arius*.

and

and took his Seat as Counſellor and Aſſiſtant-Judge for *Arius*. The Fact being proved, Sentence was to be given: — Upon which *Auguſtus*, to remove all Poſſibility of Partiality, propoſed that every one ſhould give his Opinion in Writing, leſt his, if known, ſhould influence the Reſt; and then, to avoid even the moſt diſtant Suſpicion of his being at all biaſſed by Intereſt, (for there was no Room to doubt but that *Arius*, according to the general Cuſtom of that Time, would have made him his Heir after the Condemnation of his Son,) he ſolemnly proteſted, before the Billets were opened, that he never would, at any Time whatever, accept of any Gift or Legacy from *Arius*. In his Sentence, he inclined as much as poſſible to Lenity; conſidering who was the Proſecutor, rather than what Puniſhment the Crime deſerved; and likewiſe judging that the Prince's Preſence ought always to be accompanied with Favor and Indulgence. He, therefore, inſtead of adhering to the ſtrict Letter of the Law, (according to which the Criminal muſt have been ſewed up in a Sack, with a Dog and a Serpent, and then thrown into the Sea), propoſed Baniſhment, as a ſufficient Puniſhment for the intended Guilt of a raw Youth, who had been trepanned into Villany, and who, trembling and diſconcerted when only preparing to commit the Crime, had, even in that, ſhown his Remorſe, and given Room to hope that the Sentiments of Nature were not quite ſtifled in his Heart. *Arius* gladly approved of this Clemency, and baniſhed

his Son to *Marſeilles*, where he continued to him the ſame yearly Allowance as before his Tranſgreſſion [a].

In the general Reformation of Abuſes, *Auguſtus* introduced a new Cuſtom relative to the laſt Wills of Perſons who died abroad. It was a common Practice with the *Romans* to make their Wills at *Rome*, and leave them with their Friends, or, if they were great Men, to depoſit them in ſome ſacred Place, ſuch as the Temple of *Ops* or *Veſta*. But *Lucius Lentulus*, dying in *Africa*, left *Auguſtus* Co-heir with his Daughter, and wrote a Codicil, ſigned by Witneſſes, deſiring him to give certain Legacies to Perſons named therein. *Auguſtus* aſſembled ſome of the moſt eminent Lawyers, among whom was *Trebatius*, reputed the greateſt Civilian then in *Rome*, and aſked their Opinion, what he ought to do? and whether the Uſe of Codicils annexed to Wills was agreeable to the Tenor of the *Roman* Law? *Trebatius* anſwered in the Affirmative, and gave as his Reaſon why that Cuſtom ought to be introduced, that the Great Men of *Rome*, being frequently obliged to take long Journeys, might poſſibly be in ſuch Circumſtances as not to be able to make a formal Will, though they could write a Codicil. Upon this, *Auguſtus* fulfilled the Deſire of *Lentulus*, and his Daughter made good the Legacies, which, in Law, ſhe was not bound to do. The Cuſtom prevailed by their Example; and, a little While

[a] *Senec.* de Clement. Lib. I. § 15.

afterwards, the famous *Antiſtius Labeo* having likewiſe made Codicils, no Body doubted any more of their Uſe and Validity [7].

Auguſtus likewiſe introduced another Novelty in the Law. — It was uſual for dying Perſons to intruſt their Eſtates to another, (a *Fidei Commiſſum* they called it) that the Truſtee might enter upon them as Heir, and after a little Time give and ſurrender them up to a third Perſon, diſqualified ſome how for being *immediate* Heir himſelf; and this Truſt, unguarded by any Thing but private Honeſty, having been frequently abuſed, *Auguſtus*, either out of Regard to the Perſons to whom the Eſtate was finally to devolve, or provoked by ſome flagrant Pieces of Roguery, or the Truſtee having been obteſted by the *Welfare of the Prince*, firſt deſired the Conſuls to interpoſe their Authority in a few Inſtances. They called the Truſtee before them, and made him ſwear, *As you wiſh Health and Happineſs to Auguſtus Cæſar* [8], *ſo you ſwear and promiſe that you will faithfully render up and deliver to N . . .*, &c. And this, appearing to be a juſt and popular Thing, came ſo much in Vogue, that a Pretor or Civil Judge was appointed ſoon after, to take Cognizance ſolely of ſuch Truſts [9].

[7] *Inſtit. Juſtinian.* Lib. II. Tit. 25. De Codicillis.

[8] Inſtead of, *As you wiſh Proſperity and Grandeur to the Roman Common-Wealth.* — A grievous Fall! A deplorable Change! — The Health of one Man, more ſacred and precious than the public Welfare!

[9] *Inſtit. Juſtinian.* Lib. II. Tit. 23. De Fidei Com. Hereditat.

Auguſtus's Mildneſs, his Moderation, his Beneficence, in ſhort, — for it would be unjuſt not to allow it *now*, — his *Virtues*, rendered him deſervedly dear to every Lover of Unanimity and Peace. It therefore was no longer Flattery, but real Gratitude, which induced every Order of the State, public Communities, as well as private Perſons, Cities protected by the Empire, and Kings in the Alliance of the *Romans*, to vie, as it were, who moſt ſhould celebrate and honor the Author of their common Felicity. — *Suetonius*, than whom I cannot follow a better Guide, has collected into one View [1], according to his uſual Method, all that relates to theſe Demonſtrations of the public Affection for *Auguſtus*.

He ſets out with declaring, that he does not mention the Decrees of the Senate, becauſe they may be ſuſpected not to have been quite free Acts. — But the *Roman* Knights voluntarily celebrated *Auguſtus*'s Birth-Day every Year, by a Feſtival which laſted two Days. — All the Orders of the State went annually on a certain Day, in Conſequence of a Vow they had made for his Preſervation, and threw their Offerings into the Lake *Curtius*; a Piece of Superſtition, of which we find Examples of one Kind or other in almoſt every Country. — His Palace having been burnt, all the Magiſtrates in a Body, the ſeveral Tribes of the People, the veteran Soldiers, and Numbers of private Individuals, haſtened to carry him

[1] In Aug. § LII — LX.

Money to help to rebuild it. He thanked them for their Kindneſs; and to ſhow them that he neither deſpiſed their Offer, nor would put them to Expenſe, reached his Hand to each Heap, and took from it the Value of a Farthing or Half-Penny. — The *Auguſtalia*, which ſtill ſubſiſted in *Dion Caſſius*'s Time, was one of the Feſtivals inſtituted for his Return to *Rome* from a long Journey. — But nothing could be more pleaſing than the Manner in which the glorious Title of *Father of his Country* was given him.

The People firſt ſent a ſolemn Deputation to him at *Antium*, requeſting him to accept this Title; but he modeſtly declined it: Upon which, on his Return to *Rome*, they aſſembled, and, with an unanimous Acclamation, gave it him, juſt as he was going into the Theatre. The next Day, *Meſſala*, in full Senate, and, in the Names of all the Senators, turning to him, ſaid, *Cæſar Auguſtus*[2]! *The Senate and* Roman *People, wiſhing all Happineſs and Proſperity to you and your Family* (*for that Wiſh includes the laſting Happineſs of the Republic*[3]),

[2] Quod bonum fauſtumque ſit tibi domuique tuæ, Cæſar Auguſte, (ſic enim nos perpetuam felicitatem Reipublicæ — precari exiſtimamus) Senatus te conſentiens cum Populo Romano conſalutat *Patriæ Patrem.*

Suet. in Aug. § LVIII.

[3] It was cuſtomary at new Inſtitutions, Creations of Magiſtrates, &c. firſt to form Wiſhes for the Proſperity of the Nation, and the whole State. *Meſſala* here pays *Auguſtus* a very high Compliment, in praying only for *his* Proſperity, that of the Republic being *of Courſe* included in it.

with one Voice ſalute you Father of Your Country — *Auguſtus* was moved even to Tears, and anſwered *; *Having now attained the utmoſt Height of my Wiſhes, what more can I requeſt of the immortal Gods, but that you may have for me, till the laſt Moment of my Life, the ſame Sentiments as you now expreſs?* — He was undoubtedly right; and that Day was certainly the moſt glorious of his Life. — Can any Triumph, be it ever ſo pompous, be compared to this pathetic Expreſſion of univerſal Love and Affection.

Several Fathers of Families ordered, by their Wills, that their Bodies ſhould be carried to the Capitol when dead, and Sacrifices be offered there in their Names, to diſcharge their Vows if they left *Auguſtus* alive at the Time of their Death. Many Cities altered the Beginning of their Year in Honor of him, reckoning for the firſt Day that on which he viſited them. In the Provinces, beſides Temples and Altars erected to him, Games were inſtituted to celebrate the Glory of his Name every five Years. Moſt of the Kings, who were Allies of the *Romans*, founded in their Dominions Cities to which they gave the Name of *Cæſarea*. One of the moſt famous of theſe was *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, built by *Herod*, who, being neither

* Cui lacrymans reſpondit Auguſtus his verbis — Compos factus votorum meorum, P. C. quid habeo aliud deos immortales precari, quàm ut hunc conſenſum veſtrum ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi perferri liceat?

Suet. ubi ſupra.

Jew nor *Gentile*, but whatever beſt ſuited his Turn; celebrated the Dedication of it by Games attended with all the Superſtitions of Paganiſm.

In the Midſt of this Profuſion of Applauſe, *Auguſtus* received a fourth Prorogation of the Imperial Power [5], which he had pretended to accept at firſt only for ten Years. The ſecond Prorogation was in 734, for five Years; and this was followed by a third in 739, when *Agrippâ* was continued in the tribunician Power, for the ſame Space of Time. Theſe twenty Years being now expired, he again feigned a Deſire to reſign; but ſuffered himſelf to be *prevailed* upon once more, to bear for ten Years longer a Burden ſo pleaſing to his Ambition; -- and which, after all, it *now* was for the Benefit of Mankind that he ſhould bear.

Perſons in Power are very apt to pretend that they wiſh above all Things to retire from Buſineſs, — to taſte the Sweets of domeſtic Quiet: — They are weary of Grandeur, — a Crowd is troubleſome, and a ſnug Privacy is their ſupreme Ambition. I do believe that *Auguſtus ſaw* the Happineſs of a private Life, and promiſed himſelf another Sort of Pleaſure in the Enjoyment of it. This made him frequently mention it in the Senate; — ſo frequently, that it loſt its Effect. He himſelf perceived the Ridicule; and, at laſt, begged the Fathers to allow him at leaſt the Satisfaction of *talking* of a Time ſo agreeable in Proſpect,

[5] *Dio.* Lib. LV.

until the favorable Conjuncture ſhould arrive, which would permit him to taſte the Bleſſings of Retirement; — but which, by the by, never did arrive during his long Life. He loved to have the Proſpect of Eaſe, as it were, in Reverſion; but had neither the Virtue nor Courage, like *Charles* or *Dioclefian*, actually to reſign.

The higheſt Benefit that can be beſtowed on Men, is a Body of wholeſome Laws, and a Form of Government adapted to them. The next is, ſaving it when in Danger, redreſſing it when corrupted, or reſtoring this ineſtimable Bleſſing, when loſt: And the third is, putting thoſe Laws duly in Execution. The Ancients thought ſo highly of thoſe who founded States and Cities, as Legiſlators, — or who could induce rude Mortals to exchange their Fierceneſs for the Sweets of ſocial Life; that they honored them as Gods. — No more amiable or alluring Picture can be drawn of their Merit, or of the noble Returns made to it, than *Horace* has ſet before *Auguſtus*. — It was, ſays he, after a Courſe of glorious Deeds, — after employing their Lives in the Service of Mankind, in putting an End to diſmal Wars, in fixing Limits, aſſigning Property, founding Cities, and ſettling mighty States, that *Romulus*, and the Sons of *Jove*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, with Father *Bacchus*, were conſecrated as Gods, and worſhipped by the admiring World. — Could a Prince fond of true Honor, as *Auguſtus* undoubtedly was, be moved with any Thing, or attached to real Goodneſs, it muſt be by this bright

Reward of *Immortality*, by the general Suffrage of Mankind.

This Year, (the DCCXLIVth. of *Rome*), deprived *Auguſtus* of his beloved Siſter Octavia; — though he had in ſome Meaſure loſt her twelve Years before, by the inconſolable Mourning in which ſhe paſſed all the Time that ſhe ſurvived her ſon *Marcellus*. — Worthy of the higheſt Praiſes in every other Reſpect, ſhe gave an inexcuſable Looſe to her Grief on this Occaſion. — From the Moment of his Death, ſhe never ceaſed to bewail and lament; obſtinately refuſing to hear any Thing that could be ſaid to mitigate her Sorrow, and even forbidding every one to attempt to comfort her. Wholly intent upon that one melancholy Thought, ſhe would ſuffer no Picture or Repreſentation of the dear Object, nor ſo much as let his Name be mentioned in her Hearing. All Mothers became odious to her, and particularly *Livia*, whoſe Son ſeemed deſtined to inherit the Grandeur which *Marcellus* would have had. Delighting in nothing but Solitude and Darkneſs, ſhe ſeemed as if dazzled by the too great Luſtre that environed her Brother; and far from ſeeking Comfort from that Quarter, hid, and, as it were, buried herſelf from him. Though ſhe ſaw around her three Daughters [c] married, and ſeveral Grand-Children; yet ſhe perſiſted in wearing Mourning all her Life, ſtill looking

[c] *Marcella* married to *Julus Antonius*; and the two *Antonias*, one married to *L. Domitius*, and the other to *Druſus*.

upon herſelf as childleſs in the Midſt of ſo numerous and flouriſhing a Family [7].

Auguſtus, who had always loved her tenderly, paid all imaginable Honors to her Memory. He pronounced her funeral Oration in the Temple erected to *Julius Cæſar*; and *Druſus*, who was then alive, pronounced another in the Forum. Her three Sons in-Law, *Druſus*, *Domitius*, and *Julus Antonius*, bore her Body to the *Campus Martius*, where the funeral Ceremony was performed. The Senate honored her Memory with ſuch Profuſion of Decrees, that even *Auguſtus* himſelf thought it incumbent on him to put a Stop to them. — He had built in her Life-Time, to perpetuate her Name, a noble Edifice, called the *Octavian Portico* [8]; ſo vaſt, that it contained, as we are told, ſome magnificent Temples. — *Sauron* and *Batrachus*, two *Lacedemonian* Architects then at *Rome*, had the conducting of this grand Work. — They were Men of Spirit, in affluent Circumſtances,

[7] *Sen.* Conſol. ad Marc. c. 2.

[8] There were two Porticos in *Rome*, Buildings of vaſt Magnificence, which bore the Name of *Octavia*. The Portico here ſpoken of was contiguous to the Theatre of *Marcellus*. The other, which ſtood near *Pompey*'s Theatre, was built by *Cn. Octavius*, the Son of *Cneius*, who was Curule Edile, Conſul, and Decemvir for holy Things; — the ſame who led the naval Triumph over *Perſes*, the laſt King of *Macedon*. It was burnt down, and magnificently rebuilt by *Auguſtus* (*a*), in Honor, I ſuppoſe, of his Progenitors.

(*a*) *Pompon. Feſti*, Fragm. in O.

and carried on the Fabric with great Magnificence, hoping they ſhould be permitted to inſcribe their Names on ſome Part of it. This however, was refuſed them. — But as Ambition is ingenious, they carved in *Bas-relief*, on the Chapiter of the two moſt remarkable Pillars, a *Lizard* and a *Frog*, the Animals whoſe Names they bore.

Livia, endowed with greater Fortitude of Mind behaved very differently from *Octavia*, under the very ſame Circumſtance, the Loſs of her Son *Druſus*, which happened ſoon after. She wept for his Death, and was ſincerely grieved; but without being troubleſome to any one: And above all, ſhe avoided adding to *Auguſtus*'s Concern, which was already ſufficiently great. She accepted the Honors offered to alleviate her Sorrows, Statues decreed to the deceaſed, and the Privileges of a Mother of three Children [9]; and during the Remainder of her Life, ſhe never ceaſed to extol her beloved *Druſus*, called to mind his Image and Reſemblance on all Occaſions, took Delight in ſpeaking of him, and in hearing others praiſe his Virtues. — In the beginning of her Grief (which is the Time when our Calamities generally bear hardeſt upon us, and we are moſt impatient), ſhe addmitted the Philoſopher *Areius*, her Huſband's

[9] *Auguſtus*'s Laws, in Order to increaſe the Number of Citizens, granted ſeveral Privileges to the Fathers and Mothers of three Children; ſuch as, their being exempt from certain Taxes levied upon collateral Inheritances, and the Advantage of having the Preference in Nominations to Employments and Offices, &c.

Friend, to visit her, and acknowledged that her Sorrows were much assuaged by him. — The old Philosophers had the Character which the wisest and most moderate of our Clergy now enjoy.

The Year in which *Octavia* died was likewise the last of *Mecenas*'s Life. — Though this old Confidant and faithful Minister had, of late, lost somewhat of his former Influence; yet *Augustus* was too well acquainted with his Merit; and piqued himself on too much Constancy in his Friendship, not to regret the Companion of all his great Undertakings. *Dion Cassius* may have been misled by common Fame, when he makes a too great Intimacy between the Emperor and his Minister's Wife the chief Cause of this Alteration. *Tacitus* says nothing of this Report, which he certainly would not have omitted, if he had thought there was any Foundation for it. — It is true that *Mecenas* was all his Life the Dupe of his Passion for *Terentia*, a capricious fantastical Woman, whose Humor gave him perpetual Uneasiness; whom he quarrelled with, and was reconciled to, every Day, and put away one Moment to take her again the next; so that, as *Seneca* says [1], he was married a thousand Times, and never had but one Wife.

These continued Wrangles could not but hurt the Health of a Man whose Constitution was naturally weak, and had been impaired by Effemi-

[1] Qui uxorem millies duxit, quum unam habuit.

nacy and high Living. Sleep had forſaken him; and all Methods to procure Repoſe, — Wine, the Murmuring of a Caſcade, the diſtant Sound of gentle Muſic, proved ineffectual. — Whether his Indiſpoſition, which really rendered him unfit for Buſineſs; or an Increaſe of the ſupine Habit he had indulged himſelf in; or a Diſguſt at Length conceived, either by the Maſter when he had given all, or by the Miniſter ſatiated with Employments; — whether it was one or all of theſe I cannot ſay, nor can I preciſely the Time when, *Mecenas*, who had been in all the Myſteries of State, and was himſelf the prime Projector, declined in Favor, was no longer conſulted in Affairs of Moment, nor held the ſame Place in the Cabinet as he had formerly done. — However, nothing in all this amounted in any Shape to a Diſgrace. — The ſame Appearance of Grandeur and Intereſt continued, and *Auguſtus* ſhowed him the ſame Countenance to the laſt. But the Life and Subſtance were fled, and another was conſulted upon the greateſt Matters, with the Familiarity and Confidence uſed to a Favorite. — He was ſucceeded by a Gentleman very much of his own Character *Criſpus Salluſtius*, a Nephew of the Hiſtorian, by a Siſter, and adopted by him into his Name and Family.

This new Favorite, in his private Life, was rather luxurious than ſplendid; very different from the ancient Frugality, both in the Elegance of his Dreſs, the Affluence and Delicacy of his Table, and the Richneſs of his Furniture. — But under

all theſe Appearances of Indolence and Pleaſure, was a Strength of mind equal to the greateſt Affairs, and bearing by ſo much the keener Edge, as it pretended to nothing but Eaſe and Indulgence. Though he had Acceſs to Honors of every Kind, yet, like *Mecenas*, he deſpiſed the *Peerage*, and without the broad Border about his Robes, excelled the conſular and triumphant Senators in Power and Dignity. While *Mecenas* ſtood, he was next in Confidence, and afterwards ſucceeded quietly to the great Truſt. — It was to him that *Tiberius*, at his Acceſſion, gave the dangerous Commiſſion of killing the young *Agrippa*. — He died in the Year of *Rome*, 773, after experiencing the ſame Fate as his Predeceſſor, in holding rather an Appearance, than the Reality of the Favor of the Prince, with whom he lived ſix Years.

Mecenas, whilſt in Power, which was till very little before his Death, had the Management of all Tranſactions that were to be accompliſhed by Perſuaſion or Addreſs. In theſe Caſes, the Negociator's Appearance had a great Influence. One would ſcarce look for any Harm from ſo ſoft a Man, or think him inclined to be ſevere on any one. — Some would even be apt to deſpiſe his Underſtanding (which gave him a great Advantage in treating), and believe that ſuch an honeſt, diſſolute, careleſs Fellow would mind little more than his Pleaſures, and could have no deep Deſigns. — Affairs which required Activity, Gravity and Force, were committed to *Agrippa*.

Though we are not acquainted with Particulars, I can make no Doubt but that *Cæsar*'s chief Friends must better their Fortunes, even amidst the Horrors of the Proscription. When so much public and private Money was flying about, and so many noble Estates were changing Masters; while the Tribunes and Subalterns were all getting rich; it is scarce probable that the General *Agrippa*, the Minister *Mecenas*, the Lord High Chamberlain *Cornelius Gallus*, the faithful *Proculeius*, *Statilius Taurus*, *L. Arruntius*, and many others who were zealously attached to the Conqueror, reaped none of the Fruits of the Siege of *Perugia*, and the Victories at *Philippi* and *Actium*. On the contrary, it appears that a great Part of the Property of *Sicily* had fallen, and not undeservedly, to the Share of *Agrippa* [2]. But the Inundation of Wealth, which, in a Manner, overwhelmed all *Cæsar*'s Followers, came pouring from *Egypt* and the *East*, after the final Reduction of *Alexandria*. — It was then that the Treasures of the *Ptolomean* Race, swelled with *Cleopatra*'s Rapines, and all the Spoils of the Eastern Provinces collected by *Antony* and his Lieutenants, fell in one Day a Prey to *Cæsar* and his Friends.

[2] Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis quos colligis Icci! &c.
Hor. Ep. Lib. I.

Where the Verses
Si ventri bene, si lateri est, pedibusque tuis; nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus,
are taken from *Solon*.

The Airs of Luxury and Delicacy which *Mecenas* gave himſelf, were at firſt, I judge, a Stroke of Politics, not foreign at the ſame Time from his real Inclinations. — This artful Management was uſeful, and protected the Beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, when Conſpiracies againſt him were frequent. Afterwards, it turned to a Habit, and was, I believe, a Kind of expiatory Offering to that dreadful Goddeſs *Envy*, as well as his contenting himſelf with the Condition of a *Roman* Gentleman, when, with the greateſt Eaſe, he could have riſen to the Conſulſhip and the higheſt Commands. *Agrippa* was highly ambitious, and jealous of his Power. Had *Mecenas* rivalled it with him in *Show and Splendor*, an open Breach would infallibly have enſued. — It was believed that even *Marcellus* would not have ſucceeded peaceably to the Empire after *Auguſtus*, if *Agrippa*, (who in Effect was the Man that made *Auguſtus* Emperor) had happened to ſurvive him. So that, after all, as it happens in moſt Things where Men have their Choice, *Mecenas*'s Manners, and that particular Character of Supineneſs, was partly from Nature, and partly, by an honeſt Hypocriſy, — from Neceſſity and Art.

Mecenas was a Man of true Taſte in Learning, though he choſe to write *Licentiouſly* himſelf. — He was very fond of his two Poets, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who, very far from being mere Wits or Witlings to divert him with Flights or Clinches, (the Uſe many a Grandee makes of his Men of Letters,) *did Honor to his Choice.* They were

Men

Men of real Genius; though perhaps inferior in *that* to ſome of their Contemporaries. — But they were Men of ſound Judgment and genuine Knowledge. They were both Maſters of Life, and of the *Proprieties* of it both in ſpeaking and writing. This made their Works become a Standard of Juſtneſs of Style and Truth of Sentiment. Theſe they ſcanned and weighed, and corrected, till they feared no Eye of the moſt knowing Cenſor. The chaſte Elegance of the one, and the happy Flights and ſurpriſing Touches of the other, ſerve to diſtinguiſh their ſeveral Manners, and recommend them equally to the Admiration of their Readers. — It was a Way the Courtiers had of paying a Compliment to, if not of laying a Sort of Obligation on, *Mecenas*, to tell him they had been charmed with ſuch and ſuch Parts of *Virgil*'s Verſe. He looked upon his Poems as Models of true Eloquence, from whence Rules might be drawn for our daily Practice. — He was an Admirer and Judge of every Thing that was eaſy and elegant, — perhaps to an Exceſs; and a Lover of Change and Singularity in his Houſe and Entertainments. Sometimes profuſe and magnificent; at other Times ſnug and private: — Nor was he an Enemy to Intrigue. We know ſeveral of his Gallantries; and he favored that Irregularity ſo much as to ſhelter thoſe who, by indulging themſelves in it, were become obnoxious to the Laws. He both was and wanted to appear looſe and diſſolute in his Life; — whether in the Way he choſe, which was, as ſome conſtrued it, to

ſhow his Power in neglecting the common Reſtraints, and living above Decency and Forms; — or whether, as I hinted before, it was a Blind intended to turn the Eyes of Men from his Power, and make them fearleſs of any Thing ſevere from a Man of his indolent Temper; — or both.

He would not conſtrain himſelf in any Thing. In his Writing, he gave a Looſe both to his Fancy and Language; took the Images as they firſt glowed, and the firſt Words that offered, proper, or improper, to expreſs them. This made his Style florid, and his Compoſition luxuriant, not to ſay licentious. For, endeavouring at the moſt laſcivious Ideas, and melting Deſcriptions [3], he would be at no Pains to prune, or chaſtiſe, his Expreſſions; but left the wildeſt Metaphors, and unexpected Turns, juſt as they dropt from his Pen: — Only he ſeems to have aimed at winding up his Periods with ſomething peculiarly pretty, which his Maſter, no mean Critic, for that Reaſon called his Miniſter's *perfumed Curls*, and with great Spirit and Pleaſantry uſed to conclude his Letters to him in *Mecenas*'s own Style,

[3] *Mecenas* had a Chapel of the God *Priapus* in his Garden, where he uſed to go with his Friends, and recite the Verſes he and they had compoſed in Honor of the *Numen*. It ſeems probable that the *Priapeia*, commonly aſcribed to *Virgil*, may rather have been collected by him, at his Patron's Deſire, than all compoſed by him; for the Style of them is very diff rent. Some of them, we know, belong to *Tibullus* and others; — though it is very poſſible *Virgil* may have had his Share in them.

though, we may believe, somewhat exaggerated in the Copy. — This winding up of a Sentence with a sonorous *Twirl*, was what Mr. *Dryden* says that Wit of *Scotland*, Sir *George Mackenzie*, advised him to use for Ornament to his poetic Compositions. — It is that Species of false Wit, which the *Italians* call *Concetti*; where the Writer plays with his Subject, and trifles with his Reader, whose Attention is called off from the Matter in Hand, and turned upon some *Trinket*, or *pretty Conceit*, that glitters at the End of it.

Politeness of Style, if made the first Concern of a Writer, infallibly enervates and unmans his Thought and Expression; and even if allowed a secondary Place, it too frequently creeps into the first. But *Mecenas*'s great Effeminacy of Manners must of Necessity taint his Language. Several of his Works, both in Prose and Verse, were extant in the Days of *Seneca*, who censures them very severely [a]. — Yet *Seneca*'s own Style, though affectedly philosophical, is at Bottom that of a *Courtier*, and a Man of *Wit*. It is polished to a Shadow: The Sense and Sentences are broke and disjointed, exactly in the modern *French* Taste, in Opposition to *Corneille* and *Pelisson*. — The crazy Emperor (a Man of Genius) C. *Caligula*'s Criticism was just, when he called it *Commissuras meras*, & *Harenam sine Calce*. — *Meer Patch-Work*, — *Sand without Lime*. — This must be the Fate of all Affectation.

[a] Lib. XXI. Epist. 20.

Old *Seneca*, who flouriſhed towards the End of the Reign of *Auguſtus* (contemporary with *Ceſtius*, *Caſſius Severus*, and *Portius Latro*), and was remarkable for an aſtoniſhing Memory, had three Sons, *Seneca*, the celebrated Moraliſt, *Annæus Mela*, and *Junius Annæus Gallio*. They were all three Men of great Parts, Learning, Spirit, and Induſtry. The Life and Death of *Nero*'s Preceptor is too well known to be mentioned here. — The ſecond Brother, *Mela*, bent upon making a great Fortune, and perhaps affecting Singularity, though elected into the Senate, choſe to riſe no higher than the *Equeſtrian* Rank. This Refuſal, as it did not impair his Weight or Splendor, qualified him to take the perſonal Revenues of the Emperors and great Men, in diſtant Provinces, under his Management, which, now that Plundering was dangerous, and foreign Wars were ceaſed, was the readieſt Method of becoming ſecurely rich. He accordingly obtained his Wiſh, and acquired the immenſe Wealth which proved his Ruin. He was the Father of the great *Lucan* the Poet, condemned to die for having been acceſſory to *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy. But as the Poet gave himſelf a voluntary Death, his Eſtate, which had not been confiſcated, fell to his Father, who, by exacting too rigorous an Account of it from *Lucan*'s intimate Friend, *Fabius Romanus*, provoked him to turn his Accuſer to *Nero*, as conſcious of his Son's Crime. To ſupport this, a forged Letter, imitating the Poet's Hand-writing, was produced, and ſent by *Nero*'s Order to *Mela*, who, knowing

his Fate as ſoon as he received it, immediately killed himſelf. — His great Wealth was what the Tyrant chiefly wanted.

Gallio was the ſuperior Genius of the three. He had high Ambition, roſe with Splendor to the greateſt Honors and Commands of the Empire, and was reckoned the beſt Orator of his Age; though his Periods were ſo *ſtrung* as to *chime* to one another. Perhaps this might have ſome Effect in a Declamation, delivered to an idle Audience, who came neither to judge of Buſineſs, nor receive Inſtruction, but only to have their Ears *tickled*. A true Judge of Eloquence joins *Mecenas*'s *Curls*, and *Gallio*'s *Chimes*, as the Blemiſhes in their ſeveral Compoſitions, to which he declares [5] he would prefer, not only the manly Flow of the perfect and poliſhed Orators, *Cicero*, *Calvus*, *Pollio*, *Brutus*, &c. but even the Strength and Spirit of the old *Gracchi*, or the ſound Maturity of *Craſſus*'s Style. — If *Euſebius* ſays true, *Gallio* too fell at laſt under *Nero*'s Diſpleaſure, and had the ſame Fate as his elder Brothers.

Without being Suicide-Mad, like *Seneca*, one cannot but think with him, that ſuch an immode-

[5] Cæterum, ſi omiſſo optimo illo, ac perfectiſſimo genere Eloquentiæ, eligenda ſit *Forma dicendi*, malim mehercule C. Gracchi impetum, aut L. Craſſi maturitatem, quam *Calamiſtros* Mæcenatis, aut *Tinnitus* Gallionis.

F. *Quintil.* de Orat. Dial.

rate Fondneſs for Life, as *Mecenas* expreſſes in the following Lines [e], deſerves Contempt.

Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxâ,
Tuber adſtue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes,
Vita dum ſupereſt, bene eſt.
Hanc mihi vel acutâ
Si ſedeam cruce, ſuſtine.

This was, undoubtedly, a wrong Way of thinking. — But whoever is acquainted with Man, cannot be ignorant how much he is made up of Inconſiſtencies, nor to what Degree Weakneſſes really deſerving of Pity, may be joined to Talents which merit the higheſt Admiration. — *Mecenas*, notwithſtanding the many Defects in his Character and Conduct, was nevertheleſs a very great Genius, an able Miniſter, and, what is more, a faithful Friend to his Prince, to whom he would ſpeak with the greateſt Freedom, not fearing to repreſent to him even diſagreeable Truths. His Love for Learning, and the Patronage which he granted to ſuch as excelled in it, have, at all Times, ſecured him the Praiſes of the Favorites of the Muſes. But what ought, above all, to gain him Eſteem and even Affection, is, that he was mild and humane; that he never made a bad

[e] If literally tranſlated, they would run nearly thus: *Let me be lame of Hands, Feet, and Thighs, humbbacked, my Teeth ready to drop out of my Head, — if I live, I am content. Even if impaled, let me but live; 'tis all I wish.*

Uſe of the deſpotic Power with which he was intruſted during many Years; that, in a bloody Age, he was not fond of Blood; and that, by his wiſe Counſels, and ſtrong Remonſtrances, he often put a Stop even to *Auguſtus*'s Cruelty in his Youth. — It is downright Ill-Humor in *Seneca* to refuſe him [7] the Praiſes he juſtly deſerves on this Account, — to call his Mildneſs, Weakneſs [8]; and to ſay that he was puſillanimous, — not humane.

It was as much the Faſhion in *Auguſtus*'s Days, as it was ſome Time ago, for great Men to write *Memoirs* of their own Lives, and even tranſmit their Way of living to Poſterity; relating how and where they ſpent the Day, and deſcribing the Situation of their Houſes, their Pleaſures, and their Retirements. — Such a Piece was that which *Mecenas* wrote *De Cultu ſuo*, which properly means *Of his Dreſs*, but is taken more widely for a *Way of Living*. — *Dion Caſſius* makes him the Author of the firſt Hot-Baths that were built in *Rome*, and of the Art of ſhort-hand Writing. The former, a Piece of Delicacy unknown to the ancient *Romans*, ſuits the effeminate Character of *Mecenas*, but the latter is generally aſcribed to *Tiro*, *Cicero*'s Freedman. — *Mecenas*, or ſome of his Freedmen, might perhaps perfect what *Tiro* firſt invented.

Whatever Pleaſure or Inſtruction we receive from the Writings of *Horace* and *Virgil*, what-

[7] Epiſt. CXIV.

[8] Apparet mollem fuiſſe, non mitem.

ever Influence they have had in humanizing the World and poliſhing Life, the Merit belongs to *Mecenas* their Patron. To *Him* we owe theſe two amiable Writers. Without *his* Encouragement, *his* Praiſe, *his* Support, nay, without his Chiding and Commands, we ſhould never have ſeen the moſt valuable Parts of their Works. We might have had Sketches, whoſe ſmall Size would have expoſed them to periſh: But the Works of Labor, as well as Genius, the *Eneid* of the one, and the elaborate Letters and Satirs of the other, required the warmeſt Rays of miniſterial and princely Favor to bring them to Perfection. They met with both: *Horace* received two noble Liberalities from *Auguſtus*, and ſuch an Eſtate from *Mecenas*, as made him refuſe Money and the high Employment of Secretary to the Prince. *Virgil* died ſtill richer.

A cloſe Connexion, or rather Intimacy, between *Mecenas* and the Men of Genius was not mere Clientſhip, or the Dependency of Inferiors on a great Patron. We know he made them Preſents worthy his Generoſity, and employed his all-powerful Intereſt with the Prince to do them Services, which they had the *modeſt Dignity* not to aſk. But it was a *juſt Senſe* of their Worth, on his Part, and a *ſincere* perſonal Attachment on *their*'s, that firſt created, and then kept up the mutual Friendſhip.

When a great Man, by which we generally mean one in Power, falls, he is inſtantly deſerted: The Perſons, whom he called his Friends, avoid

and abandon him; and on theſe Occaſions we are full of unjuſt Reflexions on the Ingratitude of the World, and the Falſhood of a Court. — I ſay *unjuſt*, becauſe, generally, powerful Miniſters, in the Height of their Grandeur, really have few or no Friends, — that is, no Body who truly loves them; — for this plain Reaſon, *Becauſe they love no Body.* Flatterers they have in Plenty; their Levées are crowded, they receive on all Hands Profeſſions of Friendſhip, Gratitude, inviolable Attachment; and ſo forth, from expecting Dependants; — but they have not one *real* Friend, nor, for the moſt Part, is it poſſible they ſhould. It is Love alone that creates Love: — Whereas they are fond only of their own Grandeur; of their own Eaſe or Pleaſure. They are profuſe of their Smiles and Promiſes, and now and then do a Favor to a Perſon who can promote any of theſe; but have *no Senſe*, *no Feeling* of higher Merit, and, when ſtript of their Power, meet with a ſuitable Return.

It therefore was not the *great Miniſter*, it was the *amiable Man*, that *Horace* loved, and loved to his Death. — Nor was it merely the *elegant Poet* that *Mecenas* admired in *Horace*: It was the *firm Friend*, the *accompliſhed Gentleman*, the *agreeable Companion*, whom, as his laſt Care, he recommended with his dying Breath to his Maſter. — *Treat Horatius Flaccus as you would myſelf.*

Mecenas and *Horace*, joined by perſonal Love and Friendſhip in their Life, were not ſeparated

at their Death; both being buried in the farther Part of the *Eſquiliæ*, to which Place *Mecenas*'s celebrated Gardens reached from the Palace. It was on this Spot, that is to ſay, from the End of the old Palace to the *Eſquiliæ*, that *Nero*'s famous *golden Palace*, more like a great Town than a Houſe, was built after the dreadful Burning of *Rome*. *Horace* died a very little While before *Mecenas*, as he himſelf had wiſhed [9] to do. His Illneſs was ſo ſudden and violent, that he had not Time to make a Will, and could only declare verbally that he conſtituted *Auguſtus* his Heir. — *Mecenas* likewiſe made him his Heir, and Executor for the Legacies which he left to his Friends.

Horace was not a *profeſſed* Writer, nor, if I may be allowed the Expreſſion, a *Poet by Trade*. — Making of Verſes was not his *Buſineſs*. — He did not ſit down, as honeſt *Colly Cibber* confeſſes of himſelf, to *labor* in Poetry as his Vocation, and hammer out his Taſk of ſuch a Number of Lines. — Far otherwiſe. — He wrote ſeldom, — wrote for Pleaſure, — as his Inclination prompted, — as Objects tempted, — and never took up his Pen but at the Command of *Apollo*.

He arrived at the rare Pitch of Wiſdom, *To know himſelf*, as well as others. — It is but Half-Enjoyment not to underſtand the Happineſs we poſſeſs. A great Fund of natural good Senſe, cultivated by Learning, and improved by the

[9] Od. Lib. II. Carm. 17.

beſt Company, enabled him to judge truly, to know the Value of Retirement, and thoroughly to taſte the Bleſſing. — I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my Admiration of his Wiſdom. — He might have been rich, — he might have been great, — and he refuſed both. The Prince's Favor, the Miniſter's Love, and conſequently all the Honors of *Rome*, lay open to him: But he deſired to be excuſed — withdrew into the Country, and remained a *private Man.* He had viewed the Court with a piercing Eye, and ſaw the Game that was played there, the Hazard of being cheated, or obliged to cheat. — It is the Part of a wiſe Man, already contented and happy, not to put himſelf in the Power of Fortune, or ſet a Stake for which he can have no adequate Return. — If he wins, he gains not much; and if he loſes, he is ruined for ever.

Horace was highly qualified to judge both in Life and Learning. He had received an excellent Education, — without which no natural Parts, nor Converſe with the World, could have given him ſuch extended Views of Mankind, not to ſay of Literature, as appear through his Writings, on all proper Occaſions. He was acquainted with every Species of Philoſophy, though deeply attached to *Plato;* and had Poetry and Hiſtory in all their Branches, from the earlieſt Times, in his Eye; and was thereby enabled to inſtruct the Wiſe, as well as entertain the Gay of *Auguſtus*'s Court. — Though he wraps up his Admonitions in excellent Flattery, yet he gives

them boldly, and upon more delicate Points than he durſt have preſumed to have done, had it not been in Concert with the Chiefs of the Miniſtry. — He firſt ſoothes, then remonſtrates, and then ſoftens again, or turns off the Subject with a Stroke of Raillery to his Muſe. — It is worth obſerving (and what few do obſerve), that the *Strain* of the Odes addreſſed to his great Friends is always adapted to their *peculiar* Temper and Manners. — In this lies the true Delicacy of the Poet. — The ſoaring Views and high aſpiring Temper of *Licinius Muræna* made *Rectius vives* [1] nicely touch his prevailing Paſſion [2]. To *Dellius*, the ingenious Debauchee of his Age, he offers the Alternative of a grave Life, or a wild One. The firſt he diſpatches in *one Line*, and too deliciouſly paints the other through all the Reſt of the inimitable Ode [3]. He tells another Man of Pleaſure, of a ſuperior Character, remarkable for his Love of Pleaſure and Contempt of Money, that Silver never acquired its proper Luſtre but by moderate Uſe. — To a third Perſon, a noble daring Youth, rather too aſpiring, he writes, that they ſail ſafely who neither launch out into the Main, nor keep too cloſe in with the ſhelvy Shore; that the happy Man, who followed the *golden Mean*, knew neither the Diſguſts of a ſordid Habitation, nor the Cares and Anxieties which haunt a ſuperb Palace. — In ſhort, he lived with ſuch Dignity, that his

[1] Lib. II. Od. 10.
[2] He conſpired againſt *Auguſtus*.
[3] Lib. II. Od. 3.

Conduct gave a Luſtre to his Writings, which they again *reflected* upon his Character. He was of Courſe *courted* to write, by the greateſt Perſons about Court; and we find many Apologies, both in his Odes and Letters, to theſe agreeable Duns, who were claiming a promiſed Poem. — *Mecenas*, *Julius Florus*, *Cenſorinus*, were all fond of his Compoſitions, and exacted the Debt, when he had once ſaid the Word.

His chief Excellency lay in quick and delicate Feelings both in Life and Learning, and in a genteel and happy Expreſſion, ſtrongly deſcriptive of them. In his Compoſitions, the Gentleman was charmed to find his own Perceptions ſo nicely hit off, and the Philoſopher was ſurpriſed to ſee his ſublimeſt Sentiments in ſo eaſy a Dreſs.

If ſome of his Poems treſpaſs againſt Modeſty, not only the Manner of the Age (which more or leſs gives the Tincture to all Compoſitions) but much more the peculiar Character of his great Patron, muſt alleviate the Error. — It would appear very prepoſterous *now* to compliment a prime Miniſter familiarly upon his Amours, — and quite flagitious if they were of the male Kind. — Even *B — ke*, profligate as he was, would have thought *Prior* mad, if he had blabbed their *Greenwich* Frolics in Verſe. — Yet *Horace*, a Man of true Diſcretion, in a Song, addreſſed to the great Man himſelf, publiſhed to the whole Town that their Governor loved a Wench [4], and doted upon a young Player [5].

[4] *Horat.* Lib. Epod. Od. 3. [5] Ibid. Od. 14.

To account for this groſs Indecency, we muſt recollect the Character and Policy affected by *Mecenas*; — I ſpeak with Propriety when I ſay *affected* by him. It is the Circumſtance which almoſt acquits *Horace* to a Moraliſt, and altogether to a Courtier. *Mecenas wiſhed* to *appear* ſunk in Luxury and Sloth. — He plainly wanted his Vices to be known. The Purpoſe he meant to ſerve by that ſtrange Conduct has been explained in its proper Place: And I adduce the Fact, not as a Juſtification of the Poet's Complacency in a moral Senſe; but of the Propriety of his Conduct towards the Favorite, to whom ſuch Compliments were not only inoffenſive, but highly welcome. — Nor is it a ſmall Proof of his Merit, or does it redound little to his Glory, that the two moſt celebrated Satiriſts and Judges of Life [*], in two rival Nations of *Europe*, have not only choſen him for their Pattern, and now and then borrowed his Expreſſions; but have taken his Works ſo far for their Model, as juſt to fill them up with modern Names and Materials, and leave the Honor of the Invention, and of the prime Sentiments, to *this* their *Maſter*.

Horace himſelf fairly owns that he owed the Model of his chief Work to *Lucilius*, a great Poet, who wrote in the ſame Strain, painting the Follies and Frailties of his own Life, as well as laſhing others; with this Difference, that *Lucilius* attacked great Perſons and groſs Vices, — Perjury, Rapine,

[*] M. *Boileau Deſpreaux* and Mr. *Alexander Pope*.

Irreligion, Gluttony; — whereas *Horace* rather attacks the *Indecencies* and *Follies* of Life. *Lucilius* ſpared not the greateſt and moſt popular Men.— *Horace* was diſcrete, — ſelected Fools, Fops, Rakes, and Spendthrifts, — the uſual Objects of Contempt and ridicule: But, in other Reſpects, he follows his Pattern. His Writings are a real Picture of his Manner of Life, his Adventures, Temper, and Sentiments; and even of the Changes that happened in his Temper and Opinion in the different Periods of his Life. He has diſguiſed nothing; — but, in a Strain of Humor and Pleaſantry, has deſcribed his own Foibles, his Paſſions, — has confeſſed his Inconſtancies, and acknowledged his wild Inclinations with the utmoſt Ingenuity. — What Verſe he wrote, was rather, he ſaid, in the Strain of ordinary Chat (*Sermoni propriora*), and differed in nothing from common Converſation, but that it had Feet and Meaſure, which he will by no Means allow to be a ſufficient Claim to the high Character of a *Poet*. At the ſame Time, he inſinuates, that his Productions were thought the fineſt and moſt delicate Pieces of Poetry, of any that had been addreſſed to *Auguſtus*, or that his polite Court had for their Entertainment. It is the Height of Addreſs, to make great and uncommon Talents appear in an unenvied Light. — It is enjoying a Reality, by declining only a vain Show, attended with Ridicule and Uneaſineſs.

What we looſely term the *Style of the Auguſtan Age*, was not *formed* under *Auguſtus*. It was

formed under the Common-Wealth, during the high Struggles for Liberty againſt *Julius Cæſar*, and his Succeſſors the Triumvirs, which laſted upwards of fifteen Years. The Men who had been *formed* under *Auguſtus ſhone* under *Tiberius*, and, ſtrictly, ſpoke the Language of his Age. *Cinna*, therefore, and *Varus*, *Gallus* and *Pollio*, *Junius Calidius*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, with all their contemporary Poets, learned the Language of *Liberty*, and took the maſterly Tincture, which that Goddeſs inſpires both in Phraſe and Sentiment. This gave them that Freedom of Thought and Strength of Style, which is only to be acquired under *Her* Influence; which, when joined to the Politeneſs that accompanies the ſlippery Tranſition from Freedom to blind Obedience, produced the *finiſhed Beauty* we admire in their Works. Thoſe who wrote before them, were rough, and ſometimes harſh — though exalted and manly. Thoſe who came after them, were enervated, flimſy, and full of Conceits which *mimic* true Wit: — Or, if they aimed at *ſublime*, they were turgid and unnatural; — if at *Turns of Thought*, they fell into mere Witticiſm. — This is the firſt Step towards Degeneracy. The livelieſt Inſtance I know of it is *Manilius*, who was quite modelled under *Auguſtus*, and whoſe truly great Genius, wide Learning, and exalted Subject, have not been able to guard him from the Infection of Slavery, I mean the *Concetti* or *Sheer-Wit* that then began to be in Vogue. Let not therefore *Virgil* or *Horace*, or *Valgius* or *Varus*, be looked upon as *court-bred*

Poets

Poets under *Auguſtus* : — No more than *Milton*, *Waller*, or *Cowley* were under *Charles* II. They were free-born *Romans*, ſome of them early venturing Life and Fortune in the Cauſe of Liberty, who were called to Court, and protected and encouraged by the Prince's Miniſters; in Return for which they did him and them the greateſt of all Services. The *Roman* Model copied by *Virgil* was *Ennius*, as *Lucilius* did by *Horace*.

The *Roman* Compoſition began to degenerate even under *Auguſtus*. — A general Affectation of what they called *Urbanitas Sermonis*, and we a *polite Style*, enervated their manly Language. It was no longer *natural*, and therefore could not be genuine and nervous, like what flows from the Heart. — For even Politeneſs admits not of Affectation, but muſt be natural, to pleaſe. After that Period, the Authors who aimed at a ſublime Dialect were only turgid, while the politer Claſs dwindled into Prattle and Witticiſm. This holds in all Nations. The great original Writers generally *precede* the Period in which Politeneſs is *much* affected. No ſooner is *that* the chief Aim, than both Spirit and Subſtance is gone, and that modiſh Phantom occupies their Place. — The Standard *Italian* Authors wrote before the Publication of the *Cruſca*: No Writers in *France* are comparable for Strength, Compaſs, and manly Eloquence, to *Montagne*, *Balzac*, *Boſſuet*, and *Boileau*. The Rear is brought up by *Patru*, *Paſcal*, and *Peliſſon*, who, like *Virgil* and *Horace*, ſaw the Days of Liberty of Style: — For *Boulain-*

villiers, *Monteſquieu*, and one or two more *Exotics* in *France*, formed upon *Roman* or *Britiſh* Models, by a native Strength of Genius, have emancipated their Style and Sentiments ſo far above their *politely-crampt* Country-Men, that they ſhould have been born in ſome ancient *Grecian* State, or in the happy Iſland of *Great Britain*. — Monſ. *Muralt* ſhrewdly ſays, that a Time may come when it will be the Mode to write a Book in a pretty polite Style, without any farther Intention. — Had *Balzac* joined a Love of Liberty and Truth to his happy Talents, what Wonders might he not have wrought! We ſhould have read him with Admiration, and ranked him with *Iſocrates* and *Cicero*. — Had he pointed out Humanity and Goodneſs to his eminent Patron, as the ſole Road to true Greatneſs, he would have ſhone among his Contemporaries. But he cringes among the Herd, and makes the loweſt Profeſſions of Submiſſion.

Many of the Writers in *Auguſtus*'s Time were Men of great and extenſive Learning. They ſpoke *Greek*, as we do *French*, and learned *Homer* among the firſt School-Authors, as we read *Telemaque*, a Sequel and Semblance of that great Original. They are therefore more polite, but leſs original Authors than their Predeceſſors. — *Lucretius* is more original than *Virgil*, who is infinitely more labored and ornamented. — They had conſtantly about them, a *Greek*, a Man of Letters, whoſe Buſineſs was to point out to his Patron the moſt beautiful Sentiments of the *Grecian*

Writers. They are by this Means full of Imitations and Alluſions to the Doctrines of theſe ancient Sages, upon whoſe Model they endeavoured to form themſelves. To underſtand them, therefore, it is neceſſary to know the Books they were moſt converſant with, which enable us to enter into the real Opinions and Intention of the Copier, and conſequently to ſee the Faults, or Beauties of the Imitation. Let a Man be never ſo much Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, he can read *Virgil* but through a Veil, unleſs he has firſt read *Theocritus*, *Heſiod*, and *Homer*; and will be equally at a Loſs with *Horace*, if he is ignorant of *Pindar*, and the Fragments of *Archilochus*, *Alcæus*, *Anacreon*, and *Sappho*. — *Plautus*'s Comedies are ſtuffed with *Greek*, as ſome of Mr. *Farquhar*'s Plays are with *French*. The Names of the *Dramatis Perſonæ* are almoſt all *Greek*; and the Jokes depending upon the underſtanding theſe Names (Puns for the moſt Part) ſhow they *were* underſtood. — *Ennius* tranſlated entire Paſſages from *Homer*, and *Afranius* did the ſame from *Menander*. — *Lucilius* ſaid, wittily, that he wrote only for the *Tarentines*, the *Conſentians*, and the *Sicilians*; — pretending to be afraid of the accurate Judgment of ſuch learned Men as *Perſius*, *Scipio*, and *Rutilus*, his contemporary *Romans*.

The Cuſtom which prevailed in *Rome*, of having a Man of Letters in the great Families, moſt commonly a *Grecian*, had been introduced by Perſons of the higheſt Character; *P. Scipio* the younger, who had *Polybius* and *Panaetus*, and

even the ſevere *Cato*, who had another *Greek*, for their Secretaries and literary Compoſitions. *Pompey* the Great made *Theophanes* of *Mytilene* his prime Miniſter; and even *Julius Cæſar*, whoſe ſole Rule of Life was Ambition, affected to heap Honors upon *Ariſto*, and to frequent his Lectures, After theſe, every Patrician muſt have his *Grecian* in his Houſe. They had flocked in ſuch Numbers to *Rome*, as to make the Cenſorial *Cato*, before his Converſion, clamor more againſt them[7], than our Malecontents do againſt any Foreigners. They became, what indeed could not but be the Conſequence of ſuch Encouragement, a great Body of Men, and performed a very important Service to *Rome*: — They civilized their Conquerors, and introduced thoſe polite Manners, which, by making private Life agreeable, compenſate for the Miſchief they often do in public. Among them were many excellent Men, of ſound Heads and benevolent Hearts, the Purity of whoſe Manners did Honor to their Profeſſion: But moſt of theſe *Grecian* Inmates ſlipt into the Character of our modern *French* Tutors and Valets. Their Poverty and Dependency made them ſupple and fawning; their natural Vivacity, a ſmall Share of Learning (for the *Generality* had no more), and a good Stock of Quackery, completed the Reſemblance between a *French Homme de Lettres*, and a *Grecian Literato*. — There was no Science which they did not profeſs, nor any Art which they did not practiſe[8].

[7] Haud poſſum ferre, Quirites! Græcam Urbem.

[8] Grammaticus, Pictor, Aliptes, — In Cœlum, juſſeris, ibit — Græculus eſuriens. *Juvenal.*

Philodemus muſt have been pretty young when he went to *Rome*. He was *Piſo*'s Man of Letters, about the Time of *Cicero*'s Baniſhment (DCXCV.): and yet *Horace* names him as a very *practical* Lover, in his XIth Satir, written probably in DCCXVI. — He was a Native of *Gadara* (*the Fort*) in *Syria*, was bred to Learning, and made great Progreſs in the *Epicurean* Philoſophy. As few of that Sect were Men of Erudition, or gave themſelves the Trouble of reading other Books than their own, *Philodemus*, who was thoroughly accompliſhed that Way, was the more conſidered. A great Judge of Men[9] ſays, he was humane, ingenious, and very learned: At the ſame Time his Poems were of ſo exquiſite a Turn for Wit, Neatneſs, and Elegance, that nothing could be prettier. He happened, in his Youth, to get acquainted with *L. Piſo*, the Head of the noble and ancient Family of that Name, who took a particular Liking to this *Grecian*, and prevailed upon him to go to *Rome*, and live with him. As a Philoſopher, *Philodemus* had a Character of Gravity and Worth to ſupport: — But when, according to the Principles of his Sect, he began to lay it down as a Maxim, that all Things were good or bad to Men, according as they afforded Pleaſure or

[9] Ingenioſus Homo atque eruditus, & ut vere dicam humanus, ſic enim cognovi — non ſolum autem Philoſophiâ, ſed etiam Litteris, quod fere cæteros Epicuræos negligere dicunt, perpolitus, Poema porro facit ita feſtivum, ita concinnum, ita elegans, nihil ut fieri poſſit argutius. *M. T. Cicer.* Orat. in *L. Piſonem.*

Pain: the young Patrician, who was not a little groſs and material [1], without inquiring farther, or ſtaying to draw Conſequences, which would have led him to Temperance and Virtue (the higheſt Pleaſure in Life), thought it beſt to take the Philoſopher at his *firſt* Word, and would needs underſtand the Doctrine as allowing a full Swing of Senſuality; and, in Sign of Approbation, reſolved immediately to put it in Practice. The polite Philoſopher at firſt began to *diſtinguiſh* and *ſeparate* the different *Kinds* of Pleaſure, allowing to each of them their own *Weight* in Life as they are ſettled by Nature, and their *Uſe* limited by the public Good and private Welfare. But his headſtrong Diſciple would admit of none of theſe Refinements, ſtuck to his Point, and maintained to *Philodemus*, that their Founder undoubtedly meant, that every Thing in Life depended upon ſoothing the *Senſes*, and was much in the Right for ſo doing. What could the *Grecian* do in this Caſe? He was very well bred, and very complaiſant. — Not thinking it proper to be too tenacious, or flatly to contradict a noble Member of the *Roman* Senate, he let him enjoy his own Opinion, and continued to live with him in *Piſo*'s Way. This, by Degrees, made him loſe that Dignity and Regularity of Manners, which belonged to his Character, and which he would probably have retained, had he happened to light upon a Diſciple more ſuſceptible of proper No-

[1] Scitote nihil hoc luxurioſius, nihil libidinoſius, nihil eſſe protervius, nihil nequius.

tions of Worth and Honor, or touched with the noble Principle of Public Fame. But now he became ſubſervient to what *We* improperly call a *Man of Pleaſure*, that is a Man of low Life, narrow Views, and a Slave to the meaneſt Senſations. There was nothing but Entertainments in *Piſo*'s Houſe, ſomething cynical and coarſe in themſelves, and rather plentiful and profuſe, than either nice in their Preparation, or elegant in their Service; and they ſeldom concluded without *Ladies*, who were the *coſtlieſt* Part of the Treat. In this diſſolute Way of Life, it was *Philodemus*'s Buſineſs to enliven theſe Exceſſes while they laſted, and to deſcribe them afterwards in Verſes, too beautiful and delicate for the coarſe Subject. Theſe Deſcriptions were much read in *Rome*; and painted all *Piſo*'s Feaſts, Debauches, and Love-Adventures, in ſuch lively Colors as afforded a perfect Repreſentation of his Life and Manners. There ſtill remain ſeveral ſmall Pieces of his ſprightly Friend, which ſhow both his Philoſophy, and his Wit, and, at the ſame Time, betray that Foible for the fair Sex, for which he ſtands marked in the Records of Poetry. In one of them, he declares, that he does not think a Miſtreſs the leſs agreeable, becauſe ſhe ſpeaks homely or in bad Language, or even though ſhe be a little fooliſh and hoiden, if ſhe have other Parts and Accompliſhments, which he eſteems more neceſſary and material. — More Inſtances of his Taſte might eaſily be given: But as they cannot be conducive to promote either Learning or Virtue,

but, on the contrary, make Vice appear in a Dreſs too elegant for her natural Deformity, I omit them; having already ſaid full enough upon ſuch a Subject.

Every Syſtem of Philoſophy has two Sides, and is accordingly embraced by different Sorts of People, according to their ſeveral Capacities and Inclinations. Let me illuſtrate this by the Partiſans of the three prime Sects among the Ancients, the *Academic*, the *Stoic*, and the *Epicurean*, of which I have been ſpeaking. It appears ſtrange, but is certainly true, that the doubting undecided Principles of the firſt were approved by the deepeſt Thinkers of Antiquity, and at the ſame Time greedily adopted by the giddieſt. An airy deſultory Genius, like that, loves to rove from Object to Object, without the hard Study requiſite thoroughly to comprehend *one*, and graſps at a Philoſophy which *appears* to eaſe it of Trouble, by laying down before hand, that the intimate Natures of Things are incomprehenſible to Mortals. — In like Manner, the moſt ſteady and reſolute Votaries of Virtue frequented the *Porch*; as did the Unſteady, the Over-bearing, the Paſſionate, toſſed between the extremes of Abſtinence and Pleaſure. But neither of theſe Sects had ſuch motly ill-matched Diſciples as the *Epicurean*, which, like a modern Church, embraced in it's ſpacious Boſom ſome of the beſt, and many of the worſt of Mankind. — The moſt ſober and temperate Perſon that ever lived, who was perpetually preaching up *Virtue*, as the ſole Road

to true Pleaſure, was *Epicurus* himſelf; and his principal Friends and Followers, *Metrodorus* and *Hermachus*, continued in the ſame Strain both of Life and Doctrine; whilſt all the vicious and abandoned aſſumed his Principles as Palliatives of their Debauchery [2].

As *Auguſtus*'s Grandſons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, grew up, they afforded him a Pleaſure, which began to be mixed with ſome Uneaſineſs. It was a great Satisfaction to him to ſee thoſe Props of his Family and Power gather Strength: but the young Princes, who had been accuſtomed to Grandeur from the Hour of their Birth, who had never ſeen the old Forms of Government, or the Republican Equality, and who were doubtleſs continually ſurrounded by a Crowd of Flatterers, did not ſhow ſo much Moderation as he could have wiſhed to find in them. Effeminacy, Oſtentation, and Pride, had already taken Poſſeſſion of their Hearts, and the Honors which their Emperor and adoptive Father had beſtowed upon them, did not ſatisfy their growing Ambition.

Two Years before, he gave a Donation to the Legions in *Germany*, in the Name of the eldeſt of his Sons, *Caius*, who, at the Age of twelve, was then firſt trained to Arms, under *Tiberius*, in that Country. This Liberality procured the young Prince high Favor among the Troops: and

[2] Thoſe who would know the true Maxims and Conduct of *Epicurus*, muſt read his Life written by the excellent *Gaſſendi*; and a ſhort, but elegant View of his Philoſophy, given by a *genuine* Epicurean, Monſ. *du Rondel*.

the next Year *Auguſtus* appointed him to preſide at the public Games at *Rome*, in the Abſence of *Tiberius*, who was returned to *Germany*, to pacify ſome new Diſturbances there. But ſuch was the audacious Impatience of the two young *Cæſars*, that *Lucius*, a Boy only eleven Years of Age, went to the Theatre without *Auguſtus*'s Knowledge, to challenge, as it were, the Suffrages and Applauſe of the Nobility and Multitude aſſembled there, was huzzaed and clapped; and was publicly deſired to aſk the Conſulſhip for his Brother, then about fourteen. *Auguſtus*, pretending to be highly incenſed at this, put on a Show of great Indignation, and exclaimed, "Heaven forbid "that I ſhould ever ſee again what I myſelf was; "a Conſul in *Rome*, ſcarce twenty Years of Age[3]". — Words full of Artifice and Diſſimulation; by which, at the ſame Time as he condemned the Raſhneſs of the Youths, he inſinuated his Intention of making them Conſuls at the Age of twenty. The People, then wrought up to a proper Pitch, perſiſted in their Requeſt: upon which, aſſuming a ſtern Countenance and Tone of Voice, and thinking he had given them a ſufficient Hint; "To poſſeſs that high Poſt, (continued he) a "Man ought to be able to avoid committing any "Fault himſelf, and to reſiſt the turbulent De-"ſires of the Multitude." He therefore, continuing his artful Diſſimulation, would by no Means yield as to the Conſulſhip, but created *Caius* a Pontiff, with the Right of being preſent at all the Delibe-

[3] *Dio.* Lib. LV.

rations of the Senate, and of ranking with the Senators, either at public Diverſions, or at Feſtivals [4]; and at the ſame Time, as if he intended to ſhow this young Prince a Rival capable of keeping him in Awe, he inveſted *Tiberius* with the Tribunician Power for five Years, nd ordered him to go and pacify ſome Troubles which were breaking out in *Armenia*.

The Conſequence of this was what generally is the Reſult of ſuch overſtrained Policy. Both Parties were diſſatisfied. *Caius* was piqued at ſeeing *Tiberius* put in Competition with him; and the quick-ſighted *Tiberius* eaſily perceived that he was made Uſe of only as a Phantom to affright a Child, and that he himſelf, then in the Vigor of Life, of great and deſerved Reputation in Arms, *Livia*'s Son, and *Auguſtus*'s Son-in-Law, ſhould, though then placed on the ſame Pinnacle of Tribunician, that is, almoſt ſupreme Power, be diſcarded as ſoon as *Caius* ſhould attain the Age at which *Auguſtus* wanted him to be; for the Emperor's Diſſimulation was not blind to ſuch a Maſter of the Art. All the Hopes which he had entertained of *Auguſtus*'s either appointing him for his Succeſſor, or of his at leaſt leaving Things to take their natural Courſe between him and his Grand-children, were defeated by this Blow; and he looked upon his Commiſſion to go to *Armenia* as an honorable Exile, to which he reſolved to prefer a voluntary Baniſhment. To theſe Diſcontents may alſo be added, as a farther

[4] Inſcript. ap. Pigh. ad an. 748.

Motive for his taking this ſtrange Reſolution in the Midſt of apparent Proſperity, the diſorderly Conduct of his Wife *Julia*, whom he did not dare to accuſe, or ſue to be divorced from, and who, looking upon herſelf as the Daughter and Mother of the actual and intended Chiefs of the Empire, treated him with Contempt, as a Perſon far beneath her; though ſhe had not diſdained to make Advances to him in the Life of her former Huſband, *Agrippa*. He therefore, on a ſudden, deſired Leave to retire; alledging, that he wanted to have a little Reſpite from civil and military Toils, and ſome Time to enjoy himſelf, and his Friends, far from the Din of Arms or the Buſtle of Buſineſs. *Auguſtus*, who perfectly knew the Wound his Ambition had received, tried to cure it, but in vain, by every perſuaſive Argument he could poſſibly deviſe [5]. He plainly ſaw, that his Policy was detected, and that he was on the Point of loſing a Support which he then thought neceſſary, at leaſt for a Time. But neither his earneſt perſonal Requeſt, nor even his complaining to the Senate that his Son-in-Law forſook him, nor *Livia*'s condeſcending to Entreaties and humble Supplications, could move the determined *Tiberius*, who had inherited all the Obſtinacy of the *Claudii*, which he carried ſo far as abſolutely to refuſe all Manner of Suſtenance, till, at the End of three Days, *Auguſtus* at laſt conſented to his Departure. He then, leaving his Wife and Son at *Rome*, ſet out immediately

[5] *Sueton.* in Tib. § X, & XI.

for *Oſtia*, attended by a great Number of Perſons, who conducted him out of Compliment, and to whom he ſaid not a ſingle civil Word.

He embarked directly: but hearing, as he ſailed along the Coaſt of *Campania*, that *Auguſtus* was ſomewhat indiſpoſed, he ſlackened his Courſe, till, being farther informed, he found that there was no Occaſion for Delays; upon which he was in ſuch a violent Hurry to get on, that even the Badneſs of the Weather could not ſtop him; nor was it without Danger that he arrived at *Rhodes*, a Place he had formerly liked when he ſtopt there in his Return from *Armenia*, and where he now had ample Leiſure to repent his haſty Reſolution, and to grow heartily weary of his Retirement, which laſted ſeven Years.

Auguſtus, who had diſcontinued his Conſulates for ſeventeen Years, to make Room for his Friends, now [6], of his own Accord, ſtood Candidate for that Office a twelfth Time, in Order that, being inveſted with the ſupreme legal Magiſtracy, he might introduce his Sons to their firſt Dignities with the greater Splendor: for the Conducting of a noble Youth to the *Capitol*, the Giving him the manly Gown, the Preſenting him to the People in the *Forum*, was a pompous Ceremony, attended with Feſtivals, Shows, and vaſt Expenſe [7]. —

[6] A. U. DCCXLVII.

[7] Under the Commonwealth, and the immediately ſucceeding Times, the *Toga pura*, or *virilis*, was always given to the *Roman* Youths in their *ſixteenth*, or the Beginning of their *ſeventeenth* Year. The Father, attended

A conſiderable Largeſs was diſtributed among the People on this Occaſion; for the artful *Cæſar* knew full well that this was a ſure Means to captivate their Favor.

As ſoon as *Caius* had taken the manly Robe, the Senate and People named him Conſul, to enter upon the Functions of that Office in five Years; that is to ſay, as ſoon as he ſhould have completed his twentieth Year; or, in other Words, twenty-three Years ſooner than the legal Age of forty-three. At the ſame Time, the Knights preſented him with a ſilver Spear, gave him the new and till then unheard of Title of *Prince of the Youth.* — Still *Auguſtus* pretended to yield with Reluctance [s] to theſe premature Honors, whilſt, in Fact, they were what he moſt ardently deſired, and his Inſtruments were, underhand, ſoliciting and exciting the People to confer them: for one of the grand Views of his Life was, to eſtabliſh the Empire in his own Family; it was the warmeſt Wiſh of his Heart: — but as he, who never pretended to be *Emperor* (in the Senſe we underſtand the Word), and who deteſted the Appellation of *Lord*, could not himſelf pro-

by the Relations and Friends of the Family, conducted his Son to the Capitol, there to offer to the Gods the Firſt-fruits of the fineſt Age of human Life. From thence the young Man, having changed his Robe, edged with Purple, for a Plain one, was eſcorted in the ſame Manner to the Forum, to denote his being admitted to the Adminiſtration both of public and private Buſineſs, in which he, from that Time, acquired a Right to take Part.

[s] *Tacit.* Ann. I. 3.

poſe an Act to ſecure the Succeſſion to his Grand-children, *Caius* and *Lucius*, his Agents were cunningly to manage ſo that the young *Cæſars* ſhould be raiſed, *againſt his Will*, by the fond Votes of the Senate and People, to ſuch a Height, that, upon his Demiſe, they might ſtep into his Power and Station with Eaſe, from almoſt a Level.

I ſhould here take Notice what is to us the moſt intereſting of all Events, the Birth of the Divine Author of our holy Religion, *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, which happened on the twenty-fifth of December of this Year; but that the important Subject would exceed the remaining Limits of this Volume: nor, indeed, does it ſtrictly belong to the profeſſed Purport of theſe *Memoirs*. — For the ſame Reaſons the Reader muſt be referred to *Joſephus*[9], for a particular Account of the enormous Cruelties of *Herod*, King of *Judea*, who, after perpetrating in his own Family ſuch Deeds of Horror, as made *Auguſtus* ſay, he would rather be *Herod*'s Hog than his Son, died in the Year of *Rome* DCCXLVIII. By his Will, which was not to take Place unleſs ratified by the Emperor, he divided his Dominions among his three remaining Sons; for he had ſhed the Blood of three others, and of his unhappy Wife *Mariamne*. To *Archelaus*, born to him before he was King, he left *Judæa*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*; and to *Philip* and *Herod Antipas*, his Sons by *Mariamne*, he bequeathed, to the former, *Trachonitum* and ſome other ſmall Diſtricts; and to the latter, *Galilee*

[9] *Antiq.* Lib. XV, XVI, & XVII. & *de Bell. Jud.* Lib. I.

and *Perea*. *Auguſtus* confirmed the Will, excepting that he would not allow *Archelaus* the Title of *King*, which his Father had enjoyed; but gave him, in Lieu of it, that of *Ethnarch*, Prince of a Nation.

Rome had for Conſuls in its DCCVLIX th. Year, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *M. Valerius Meſſalinus*, which laſt was Son of the famous Orator *Meſſala*, and, according to *Tacitus* [1], had inherited Part of his Father's Eloquence.

Lucius Cæſar having now attained the Age at which his Brother *Caius* had taken the manly Robe, *Auguſtus*, to treat them both with a perfect Equality, aſſumed the Conſular Faſces for the thirteenth and laſt Time, in the Year of *Rome* DCCL, and managed ſo that the ſame Honors as had been granted to the eldeſt, particularly the Title of *Prince of the Youth*, and the Nomination to the Dignity of Conſul, to be entered upon five Years after, were decreed to this youngeſt of his two adopted Sons. Donations of Corn and Money, Feaſts, Games, Shows, and all the other Baits with which *Auguſtus* enſnared the fawning Tribes of *Rome*, were again profuſely laviſhed upon this Occaſion.

In the Midſt of all this Glory, whilſt every Thing ſeemed to ſmile upon *Auguſtus*, and to promiſe him an uninterrupted Felicity, domeſtic Ills retaliated upon him, in ſome Meaſure, the Woes which he had entailed upon his Country. The wicked Intrigues and infamous Debaucheries

[1] *Annal.* III. 34.

of

of his Daughter *Julia*, which he firſt diſcovered this Year, though her Lewdneſs had long been known to the far greateſt Part of *Rome*, covered him with public Shame and inexpreſſible Confuſion. — Her Dreſs, her Company, her Extravagance, and in ſhort, the Whole of her Behaviour, had often diſpleaſed him greatly: — but a Father is apt to flatter himſelf: he ſuſpected no Crime where he ſaw none; and, excuſing a Gayety which he thought innocent in the Main, would ſay to his Friends, that he had two delicate Daughters to whom he was obliged to make ſome Allowances, *Julia* and the *Common-wealth*. — Though well informed of all that paſſed, even in the remoteſt Corners of the Empire, he was a long Time ignorant of what was done in his own Houſe, and by his own Daughter. If galling Doubts forced their Way, as they would ſometimes when he obſerved her unbounded Profuſion, glaring Equipage, looſe Attire, and conſtant Throng of idle giddy Fops, he knew not well what to judge, and was almoſt inclined to deem her a loſt Woman, abandoned to Vice: — but when he viewed the lovely Circle of his Grandchildren, and ſaw how exactly they reſembled their Father *Agrippa*, he thought it a Crime to ſuſpect his Daughter's Virtue, and flattered himſelf that the Gayety of her Temper made her appear coquettiſh, but that there was nothing criminal in the Caſe. He remembered *Claudia*, — and perſuaded himſelf that *Julia* was ſuch an other [2].

[2] *Cicero* (pro *M. Cœlio*) makes old *Appius Cæcus* ſay

This favorable Opinion was again ſtrongly confirmed, when he conſidered in what Manner ſhe had been educated; for he had long been particularly bent upon keeping his Family regular, and making it a Pattern of Sobriety and good Order to all the Empire. He paid great Attention to this Point, watched over their Company, took Care that the young Ladies ſhould hardly have

to the debauched *Clodia*, *Clodius*'s Siſter, "Nonne ſi te "noſtræ Imagines viriles non commovebant, ne progenies "quidem mea, Quinta illa Claudia æmulam domeſticæ "laudis in gloriâ muliebri eſſe admonebat." — One of *Cicero*'s Commentators (*Tilſen*) ſays, *Claudia* the Veſtal was ſuſpected, becauſe of the Niceneſs and Delicacy of her Dreſs; but that the Syrian Goddeſs *Cybele* cleared her Character by following her when ſhe ſtuck in the *Tiber*. — The next Part of *Cicero*'s Sentence is, "Non Virgo "illa Veſtalis Claudia, quæ Patrem complexa triumphan-"tem, ab inimico Tribuno pleb. de curru detrahi paſſa "non eſt?" — This *Clodia*, by the by, *Cælius*'s Miſtreſs, is thought to have been the real *Lesbia* of *Catullus*. Their Characters agree perfectly — witty, wild, and wanton.

Suetonius mentions both theſe *Claudias*, and a third (ſhe that wiſhed for her Brother when ſhe was ſqueezed in a Crowd) in *Tiberius*'s Genealogy, § 2. and *Ovid* tells the Story of the Veſtal, as he does every Thing beautifully.

Claudia Quinta genus Clauſo referebat ab alto;
Nec facies impar nobilitate fuit.
Caſta quidem, ſed non & credita: rumor iniquus
Læſerat, & falſi criminis acta rea eſt.
Cultus, & ornatis variè prodiſſe capillis,
Obfuit; ad rigidos promptaque lingua ſenes.
Conſcia mens recti famæ mendacia riſit,
Sed nos in vitium credula turba ſumus.

Faſt. IV. v. 305.

an idle Hour, and made them actually Spinsters, like our *Grannams*. Most of the Clothes which he wore were spun by his Daughter, Wife, and Sister[3]; and, above all, he was extremely cautious not to let *Julia* have any Intercourse or Connexion with Strangers. He trusted to this severe Discipline, and hoped that no one in his House would ever disgrace his penal Laws. — But his Trust, methinks, was ill-founded. — Could he reasonably expect, in the Midst of a corrupt Court, wholly given up to Luxury and Pleasure, where the Day was spent in Shows, and the Night in Feasts, that his Palace should be an Asylum for Virtue? — Could he imagine, that his Laws would prove more effectual to restrain, than his Example to allure? Or that *Italian* Dames, pampered high, would hear perpetually of Intrigues, and of this and the other Lady's Affair, without ever thinking of taking Part in the Sport? — Could he fondly hope, that his indulging himself with this or the other Maid of Honor, brought to Court on Purpose by the complaisant *Livia*, would be kept truly a Secret, and not reach the Ears of the other Females of his Family?

Julia appeared one Day at Court in high Dress; that is to say, with as little Covering, and as transparent as possible. — The *Romans* were then beginning to import the *East-India* open Stuffs, which were so little Impediment to the Eye, that a Lady, completely dressed in them, could

[3] *Suet.* Aug. LXIV.

not with a good Conſcience ſwear ſhe was not naked. — *Auguſtus* viewed his Daughter, then quite a young Creature, in this flimſy Dreſs, with inward Grief, which, though he ſuppreſſed it, the cunning Dame perceived in his Looks, and came the next Day to the Drawing-room in the decent Habit of a Roman Matron — *Cæſar*, immediately laying aſide his former Diſpleaſure, approached her with a Smile; — There, ſaid he, is the Garb that becomes *Cæſar*'s Daughter. — Why, Sir! replied the Lady, who well knew his Meaning, you don't conſider; — I was dreſſed yeſterday for my *Huſband*, and to-day I am dreſſed for my *Father*.

The Uſe of Patches, it ſeems, is very ancient. Some *Indians*, probably from the *Mogul*'s Country, came to *Rome* under *Auguſtus*, and made a Preſent to his Daughter *Julia* of a Kind of Flies, to put on her Face, to heighten the Fairneſs of her Complexion. — How would ſhe triumph to appear with them next Day at Court, and aſtoniſh the gazing Crowd!

At a public Spectacle of Gladiators, ſhe and her Mother-in-law, *Livia*, had drawn the Eyes of the whole Aſſembly upon them, by the Diſſimilitude of their Retinue. — *Livia* was accompanied by Men in Years, of known Worth and Gravity; and *Julia* was beſet by a Troop of gaudy effeminate young Fellows. — Her Father ſent her a Note from his Seat, deſiring her to obſerve the Difference between the Attendants of the two chief Ladies in the Aſſembly. — *Julia*,

who underſtood him, wrote back, "Theſe Gen-
" tlemen will be old Men, when I am an old
" Woman."

Julia began to have grey Hairs very early, which ſhe uſed to retire and pick out. — It happened one Day that her Father entered her Apartment ſuddenly, and ſurpriſed the Tire-women at their private Occupation. He ſeemed, however, to take no Notice of any Thing, nor to obſerve the grey Hairs he ſaw upon her Clothes; but, after ſome Diſcourſe upon other Subjects, began to ſpeak of her Age, and aſked her, Whether, after a While, ſhe would chuſe to be bald or grey-haired? She anſwered, I, Father, ſhould rather chuſe to be grey-haired. — "Why do
" theſe then, ſaid the Prince, go about to make
" you bald ſo ſoon?"

After liſtening for ſome Time to a grave ſerious Nobleman, who was endeavouring to perſuade her to live regularly, to be careful of her Character, and, in fine, to imitate her Father in his Moderation and Temperance: "My Lord, ſaid
" ſhe, my Father forgets that he is *Cæſar*; but I
" remember that I am *Cæſar*'s Daughter."

Julia's Intrigues did not begin till ſhe was a ſecond Time unequally matched, firſt to *Marcellus*, a mere Youth, and then to *Agrippa*, an oldiſh Man, who choſe rather to bear with her diſorderly Conduct, and even to paſs it over in Silence, than to increaſe the Infamy by a public, and perhaps uſeleſs, Reſentment. — But after her Marriage with *Tiberius*, whom ſhe firſt loved,

and then hated and deſpiſed, ſhe grew infamous, even beyond the Power of Scandal to hurt her. Conſtitution prompted, her high Way of Life encouraged, and downright Love of Debauchery determined her to carry her Lewdneſs to an amazing Pitch of Proſtitution. — She loſt all Reſerve — admitted Men indiſcriminately — not only known Gallants, but any Male they pleaſed to bring with them — and when mere Debauch began to grow dull, Frolic was called in to whet it. — She went into the moſt notorious Stews, took her Station, received Money like a common Wench, and carried this ſo far as to put a Chaplet upon *Marſyas*'s Head, in Gratitude for her thriving in the lucrative Profeſſion [*]. — At another Time, when a grand Night was to

[*] It was the Cuſtom in all free Cities to ſet up a Statue of *Marſyas*, in the Forum, or Market-place. *Marſyas* was under the Protection of *Bacchus* (*Liber Pater*), and was repreſented with his Hand raiſed, in a beckoning Poſture, to ſignify, that the Town wanted nothing †. This Statue uſed to be crowned with a Garland by thoſe who had proſpered in their Buſineſs during the Courſe of the Day; and, in imitation of that Cuſtom, *Julia*, when ſhe had found a Gallant who pleaſed her, put a Garland upon the Head of *Marſyas*, which ſtood in the Roman *Forum*, near the *Puteal*. This being a commodious Place, was frequented in the Evenings by all Sorts of looſe idle People, among whom *Julia* went *incog.* that ſhe might purſue her Pleaſures in her own Way, as if ſhe had been a common Strumpet.

† *Qui erectâ manu teſtatur nihil Urbi deeſſe.*

Serv. in Æneid. IV.

be celebrated to *Venus*, to heighten the Reliſh, the ſolemn Court, the *Roſtra* from whence her Father had promulgated the Law againſt Adultery, was pitched upon for the Scene of nocturnal Riot.

This unhappy Princeſs was firſt ſeduced by *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of thoſe *artful* Men who abuſe the greateſt Talents to the worſt of Purpoſes. — He was of the firſt Nobility, handſome, inſinuating, perſuaſive, eloquent, learned, and delighting in Miſchief: — no Man could make himſelf more agreeable, or put better on that Appearance of Modeſty, Reſpect, and Tenderneſs, which is ſo dangerous to a Woman of Senſe. He abſolutely governed *Julia* for ſome Time, and dictated the bitter Invectives which ſhe wrote to her Father againſt her Huſband. Whether he wearied and voluntarily quitted his Hold, or whether he was beat out by a more illuſtrious Rival, I cannot diſcover; but he was ſucceeded in *Julia*'s good Graces by *Antonius Iülus*, the Triumvir's ſecond Son by *Fulvia*, whom *Auguſtus* had not only ſaved at the Taking of *Alexandria*, but re-inſtated in his Father's Family and Fortune, and in due Courſe raiſed to the higheſt Honors, even marrying him to his Niece *Marcella*, the Daughter of *Octavia*. — But Politics intermixed with Gallantry, as they conſtantly do among People in Power — A grand Faction was formed by the Lovers, and a Deſign laid to wreſt the Government out of the Hands of *Auguſtus*, now in Years, whilſt his Daughter and her

Gallants ſhould rule the Common-wealth. — Love is ſaid to be blind: — certain it is that he puts out the Eyes of Lovers in political Management. Whilſt inebriated with Paſſion and Pleaſure, and borne on the Wings of Imagination, they ſee no Difficulties, nor think any Obſtacle too ſtrong for their Reſolution and good Fortune: — they throw themſelves head long over Precipices, whence they ſeldom eſcape with Life. The high Deſcent of *Antonius Iülus*, the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and, above all, his ſuperior Spirit and daring Ambition, converted this Amour into a Danger which threatened both the Prince and the Empire. The old Triumviral Quarrel was likely to be revived, and the remaining Partiſans both of *Pompey* and *Antony* (no contemptible Body in *Rome*) would have again taken Arms in Favor of his Son. But though *Auguſtus* was really frighted, and put in the utmoſt Diſorder, his general Conduct was of late too unblamable, and he was now too long and deeply rooted to be pulled up by a paſſing Storm. The Plot took Air, the Court and Miniſtry were alarmed, and the Depth of it was eaſily ſounded by Means of the Perſons employed by ſuch loving Conſpirators. — *Antonius Iülus* was ſeized and put privately to Death. — *Phebe*, his Confidante with *Julia*, made Haſte to hang herſelf; — the Reſt of the Gallants, among whom were *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, a complete Hypocrite, who concealed the greateſt Vices under the Appearance of Auſterity, and had been Conſul ſome Years before, *Ap. Claudius*, and

Scipio, who ſeems to have been Half-brother to *Julia*, for *Scribonia* was married to a *Scipio*, who was of conſular Dignity, before ſhe married *Auguſtus*, were baniſhed to the Iſlands, and *Julia* herſelf to *Pandateria*, a deſert Rock near the Coaſt of *Campania*. — *Tiberius*, her Huſband, when he heard the News in his Retirement, though infinitely pleaſed with her Puniſhment, thought it became him to intercede with *Auguſtus* in her Favor, which he did by frequent and earneſt Letters from *Rhodes*. — But his Diſſimulation was underſtood, and diſregarded; and it plainly appeared afterwards to be the groſſeſt Hypocriſy, not only by his relentleſs Behaviour toward her, when he came into Power, but by his depriving her of the ſmall Penſion ſettled on her by *Auguſtus*, under the ſhallow Pretence of it's not being mentioned in his Will, and thereby actually ſtarving her to Death.

Auguſtus never met with any Thing that cut him ſo much to the quick, as the Breaking-out of this horrid Scandal in his own Family. — Two Things, of the moſt heinous Nature, combined to enrage him. — A Plot againſt his Government, and the utmoſt Contempt poured upon his Laws, and Ridicule upon his Character, as a Reformer of Manners. — In the firſt Agony of Rage, he flew, like a Fury, upon the young *Gracchus*, when he was brought into his Preſence, and beat him with his own Hands. — The Diſcipline was rude: *Gracchus*'s Spirit kindled; — he loſt Patience, and cried out, *Sir! You made the Law, and pre-*

ſcribed the Penalty yourſelf. Why do you tranſgreſs it? — Beating is not the Puniſhment to be inflicted upon my Crime. — He was then removed; and the provoked Prince, deprived of his two truſty Miniſters, unadviſedly vented his Anguiſh to the *Fathers*, that is, to the whole People of *Rome*. He gave a Detail of his Daughter's Crimes, and of her more criminal Deſigns, in a circumſtantial Relation, which the Lord Treaſurer read in open Senate. — Here the moſt ſecret Doings in his Palace were expoſed. The Veil that ſhould cover exalted Characters, and their Way of Life, from vulgar Eyes, (for it is pellucid to others,) was torn off; and inſtead of the Majeſty which magnifies the moſt common Things about the Perſons of Princes, an Air of Meanneſs and Inſufficiency reflected upon *Cæſar* himſelf, from the horrible Diſorders which had ſo long diſhonored his Family. — He was afterwards perfectly ſenſible of this falſe Step, and reckoned it as a grievous Misfortune, which he often bewailed, and ſaid it would not have befallen him, had either *Mecenas* or *Agrippa* been alive. — A diſcarded Courtier ſays on this Occaſion, and ſays not very much amiſs, that Princes frequently commend their deceaſed Miniſters, only to depreciate thoſe that are alive. — But at this Time *Auguſtus*, I believe, both ſpoke what he thought, and ſaid no more than what was true. — The ſhrewd Perception of *Mecenas*, and the ſteady Wiſdom of *Agrippa*, would immediately have diſcovered the Imprudence of a Meaſure which could ſerve

no good End, and of which it is very ſtrange there ſhould have been a faint Reſemblance acted over in modern Times. — There was more Wiſdom as well as more Humanity in *Charlemagne*'s Conduct towards his frail Daughters, while their Father was engaged in conſtant Wars and Expeditions. — It is true, their Caſe was different. Theſe Princeſſes were neglected, did not chuſe to wait for the Marriage-Ceremony, and were found big-bellied in their Father's Houſe. — Love, all-powerful Love, both parental and natural, pleaded ſtrongly in their Favor; and the mild Emperor, ſubject to the ſame Paſſion, reflected coolly on his own Youth, and forgave them. — But *Julia*'s Wildneſs was late in Life, after ſhe had been thrice married, and the Mother of five or ſix Children. Beſides that, her Crime was aggravated by atrocious Circumſtances of Inſult upon her Father's Laws, and an intended Rebellion againſt his Government, — if not Deſigns upon his Life.

A Lady of high Quality, whoſe Situation permits, and whoſe Inclination leads her to make Pleaſure her ſole Buſineſs, is in a ſlippery Way, if a proper Temptation offers. A Sentiment of Honor, of her Family, or her Pride, may ſometimes ſave her. — But if ſuch a Woman once gives Way, ſhe hardens by Degrees, until ſhe arrives to the laſt Step, which is, to loſe all Senſe of Shame; and then no Infamy or Wickedneſs comes amiſs. — At firſt, *Julia* ſinned for Pleaſure, — perhaps for Love; — afterwards

ſhe carried her Debauchery to the higheſt Exceſs. — But whether it be her long and cruel Sufferings under a ſly hard-hearted Step-mother, or the Sweetneſs of her own Temper, the flow of her Wit, and great Proficiency in Learning, which ſat eaſy on her, — methinks I cannot help pitying her. — Her Sufferings throw, as it were, a Veil over her Guilt, and leave only the amiable accompliſhed Woman, overwhelmed with Miſery, and forced to accept of the inſultive Preſents of a Mother-in-law, who firſt ruined, and then hypocritically ſupported her Huſband's Children. — For I cannot doubt but that *Auguſtus*, who was an affectionate Father, and particularly fond of *Julia*, would have relented at laſt, and, at the repeated Interceſſion and earneſt Requeſt of the whole Roman People, have recalled her from her Exile. — But the cunning *Livia* ſteeled his Heart, and the Dignity of his Character, as a Law-giver and Reformer of Manners, ſerved for the Color, or co-operated as a Cauſe in the inflexible Refuſal.

The unhappy Princeſs was accompanied in her Exile by her Mother *Scribonia*, a Woman of high, not to ſay haughty Spirit, who lived to a great Age; for when her Grand-nephew, *Scribonius Libo*, of the firſt Nobility, but a weak inconſiderate Youth, was carrying from the Senate in a Chair, after his Condemnation, for a fooliſh Sort of Conſpiracy (founded upon Prophecies and Aſtrology) againſt *Tiberius*, and deſerted by his Friends, his old Aunt ſtood by while he was

deliberating whether he ſhould make away with himſelf, or wait the Executioner. Why, Child! ſaid ſhe, what Pleaſure have you to do other People's Buſineſs for them? — He did not take the Advice, but fell by his own Hand, to prevent a cruel Death from his Accuſer.

Julia's infamous Conduct and horrid Deſign were made known to *Auguſtus* in *September*, and, I believe, the Paſſion and Terror into which *Antony Iülus*'s Conſpiracy threw him, did not permit long Time to be conſumed in the Trial. She was baniſhed in *October*. Her eldeſt Son, *Caius*, was then reviewing the Legions on the *Danube*, and her ſecond Son, *Lucius*, was in Town. — *Poſthumus Agrippa* (ſo called from his being born after his Father's Death) was but about nine Years old, and her Daughter might then be about fifteen.

This was a terrible Year to *Auguſtus*. His Daughter's Infamy had ſtabbed him to the very Heart; and the Diſturbances in *Arabia*, *Parthia*, and *Armenia*, which increaſed daily, and urgently required a very ſpeedy Remedy, had already put all the *Eaſt* in Confuſion, and threatened the Empire with a dreadful War. — But, for the better Underſtanding of this Affair, it will be proper to reſume Things farther back.

The great *Lucullus* had beat *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia* at the Head of a hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and fifty-five thouſand Horſe, in the Cauſe of *Mithridates*. — He was again beaten by *Cn. Pompey*, in a Battle in the Night. — His

Son *Artuaſdes* played the Traitor in the *Parthian* Invaſion by *Antony*, was enticed, catched, bound with golden Chains, led in Triumph at *Alexandria*, and executed by *Antony*'s Order. — His Son *Artaxias* tried to make his Way to the Throne by Arms, was defeated, fled to *Parthia*, raiſed a new Army, and recovered his Kingdom from the *Romans*. Supported by the *Parthians*, he reigned for ſome Years; but with ſuch Oppreſſion and Cruelty, that his Subjects, conſpiring, put him to Death, and then applied to *Auguſtus* for his younger Brother, *Tigranes*, educated at *Rome*, to be their King. This happened in the Winter that *Auguſtus* ſpent in *Samos*. — He gave Commiſſion to his Son-in-law *Tiberius* (with the Help of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*), to place *Tigranes* on the *Armenian* Throne [5]. — *Tigranes* enjoyed the Crown but a very little While, and his Son and Daughter, who were joined in Matrimony, after the *Eaſtern* Manner, not much longer: — ſo that *Tiberius* was to be again intruſted with the Care of ſettling *Armenia*. But taking Umbrage, as I ſaid before, at the premature Promotion of *Caius* and *Lucius*, *Cæſars*, and unable to bear the Inſults and Debaucheries of his Wife, he took his famous Reſolution to

[5] The malevolent *Dion Caſſius*'s Saying, "that *Tiberius* did nothing worthy of his vaſt Preparations, and that the *Armenians* killed their King *Artaxias* before his Arrival," would ſeem to imply, that this Application to *Auguſtus* was made during the Life of *Artaxias*.

Velleius miſtakes the Name, and puts *Artuaſdes*, the Father, inſtead of *Tigranes*, the youngeſt Son.

abandon Buſineſs and *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*. In the mean Time *Artuaſdes*, whom I take to have been a younger Son of *Tigranes*, was, by *Auguſtus*'s Command, made King of *Armenia*; and he having been driven out by an oppoſite Party, and the *Romans* who ſupported him routed, *Caius Cæſar* was at Length honored with the Commiſſion to reſettle that great Kingdom, and put it in the Hands of a Friend to the Commonwealth. — *Phraates*, the Tyrant, who, in DCCXVIII, had killed his old Father *Orontes* (turned melancholy upon the Death of the noble *Pacorus*), and put twenty-nine of his Brothers to Death, was at this Time King of *Parthia*. In the very Beginning of his Reign, he had repulſed *M. Antony*, who entered *Parthia* with ſixteen Legions, ſent Supplies to the *Armenians* and *Arabs*, and aſſiſted them to expel the *Roman* Garriſons, and the *Roman-made* King *Artuaſdes*. — But, ſome Years after, growing wiſer and milder, he gave Way to the *Roman* Power, quitted *Armenia*, ſuffered *Tigranes* to be quietly put in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, delivered up the *Roman* Eagles taken from *Craſſus* thirty-three Years before, and even ſent his four Sons as Hoſtages, in Appearance, to *Rome*; but, in Reality, to ſecure them from the Fury of a provoked Nation: — and now, when *Auguſtus* was grown old, and had no Reputation as a Warrior to keep him in Awe, he ſent an Army into *Armenia*, under Pretence of aſſiſting *Tigranes*, and ſeized the chief Places of Strength.

The Preparations of the *Romans* were ſuited to the Strength of the hoſtile Nations they were to encounter, and to the Dignity of the Commander, the preſumptive Heir of the Empire, then only in his nineteenth Year. At his ſetting out, which was either toward the latter End of this Year, or in the Beginning of the next, *Auguſtus* took Leave of him with theſe remarkable Words[c]: "I wiſh you, my Son, the Valor of *Scipio*, the Love of the People to the Degree which *Pompey* had it, and my Fortune." — But his Wiſh was far from being accompliſhed.

The Care of the royal Youth and Heir-apparent of the Empire, with the Direction of the whole Expedition, was committed to *M. Lollius*, a Man of great Capacity, with all the Appearances of Virtue, and a ſeeming Severity of Manners. He had gone through the Honors of his Country unblemiſhed; and gained the Reputation of a brave and ſkilful Commander in the Expeditions he had been employed in by *Auguſtus*, as Pretor and Proconſul: — for the Check he met with in *Germany*, where he loſt the Eagle of the fifth Legion, though more diſhonorable than detrimental, could not efface the favorable Opinion which that Prince had conceived of his Merit and Abilities. — But hidden Vice, like a pent-up Fire, breaks out with more Violence the longer it has been ſmothered. — A bad Habit, *openly* indulged, loſes its Keenneſs; but Avarice, Am-

[c] *Plut.* de Fort. *Rom.*

bition,

bition, or Revenge, commit the greateſt Ravages after cloſe Reſtraint, under the Maſque of Virtue. Opportunity then invites them to quit the unnatural Diſguiſe; and *M. Lollius*, the diſintereſted Conſul, the ſevere and juſt Judge at *Rome*, proved the moſt ſordid rapacious Governor that had ever fleeced the Kings of the *Eaſt*. — Covetouſneſs is a certain Sign of ill Senſe at Bottom.

Lollius was very exact in keeping his Accounts, and, either to palliate his Extortions, or to put a proper Value on his Jewels, he had an exact Regiſter of their Prices. — I ſhould rather ſuſpect of the ſeveral Values at which they were eſtimated by the Princes who made him Preſents of them. — This Regiſter his Grand-daughter, the beauteous *Lollia Paulina*, had in her Cuſtody, and was at any Time ready to ſhow by it that the Set of Jewels, which ſhe wore at an extraordinary Marriage-Feaſt, was worth upwards of three hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds of our Money.

Caius Cæſar was a Youth of the moſt promiſing Turn both of Body and Mind. — He was graceful and ſtrong in Perſon, having the manly Aſpect of his Father *Agrippa*, without his Sternneſs. He was of quick Underſtanding, and had that eager Love of Fame which is inſeparable from a noble Mind. — He was now inflamed with the Thoughts of the Conqueſt of *Arabia* called the *happy*, and received Informations of the Nature, Situation, and Produce of the Country, from all Hands. — The learned King of *Mauritania*, *Juba* the younger,

had written *Memoirs* of it for his Uſe; and *Dionyſius*, the great Geographer and Poet, a Native of *Charax*, on the *Euphrates*, was ſent before, to procure and put in Writing proper Information of every Thing neceſſary for the young Prince to know. — The Gold, the Jewels, the Incenſe, and other Spiceries, brought from *Arabia*, put Men mad with the Thought of it; and, which embelliſhed the Proſpect, the People were not ſuppoſed to be very martial, and therefore promiſed an eaſy Conqueſt.

Before *Caius* ſet out, he had *Auguſtus*'s Approbation for not giving into foreign Rites, or ſacrificing at *Jeruſalem*: — for which, and for his own not ſacrificing there, *God*, ſays *Oroſius*, puniſhed *Rome* with intenſe Famine — which, by the Way, did not happen till near ſix Years after *Caius*'s Expedition, *viz.* in DCCLVI.

From *Paleſtine*, *Caius* went to *Syria*, where *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and all the Kings of the *Eaſt*, waited on him, or rather on his *Director M. Lollius*, with immenſe Preſents. — Here *Caius*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCLII, entered upon his firſt Conſulſhip, in which he had for his Colleague *L. Emilius Paulus*, who was alſo his Brother-in-law, having married his Siſter *the younger Julia*. — He was the Son of *Lucius Emilius Paulus*, the Cenſor, — at firſt *Cæſar*'s Enemy, and then his Friend, in Conſideration of 15000 Talents, (900,000 *Roman* Crowns). — He had begun the beautiful *Baſilicon*, or *Royal Portico*, before the Year DCC; but finding he could not

finiſh it, took the proffered Bribe to ſave his Credit. — He was that Brother of the worthleſs *Lepidus*, whom this laſt procured to be proſcribed; but who failed openly away to *Miletus*, where he ſtaid till the Proſcription was over. — He and *Munatius Plancus* were Cenſors in the Year DCCXXII. — He married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *Scribonia*, who was therefore the Aunt of *Caius* and *Lucius*, *Cæſars*.

From *Syria*, *Caius* advanced againſt the Enemy, paſſed the *Euphrates*, and was the youngeſt Conſul that ever carried the *Roman* Arms to that vaſt Diſtance, to make War upon their fierceſt Foe.

Upon the News of his Approach, *Phraates* wrote to *Auguſtus*, that he had been forced to ſend an Army into *Armenia*, to preſerve the Tranquillity of *Parthia*, leſt the Civil War, likely to riſe there, ſhould ſpread its Flame into *his* Kingdom; and that he had aſſiſted *Tigranes* to mount the Throne, a Man of the Blood-royal, becauſe the *Armenians* had of their own Accord expelled *Artuaſdes*, the King impoſed by the *Romans*. — *Auguſtus* wrote back, that the *Parthians* had firſt taken Arms in the *Eaſt*; that, contrary to ſolemn Treaties, they had openly aſſiſted the rebellious *Armenians*, to expel their King, and the *Roman* Garriſons; — and that, as ſoon as he ſhould think proper to withdraw his Army, and evacuate the Cities and Caſtles which he occupied in *Armenia*, he might expect Peace and a Renewal of Friendſhip; — but not before. — This Letter was inſcribed ſimply to *Phraates*, without the

Title of King. — He replied, and assumed the Designation of *Phraates*, *King of Kings*, to *Cæsar*.

In the Beginning of DCCLIII, *P. Vinicius* and *P. Alphenus* being Consuls, *Artuasdes* sickened and died. — *Caius*, at a Loss what to do, asked new Orders, while the *Parthians*, worsted, in no pitched Battle, but in several Encounters, sued for Peace. — *Augustus*, old and cautious, bid him agree to it on these Conditions, — that *Armenia* should be evacuated; — that the Election of its Kings should be left wholly to the *Romans*; — and that the Boundaries of the two Empires should remain as before. — This brought on the famous Interview on the *Euphrates*, where the *Parthian* Prince let *Caius* know the crooked Designs, and insatiate Avarice of his *Director Lollius* [7], who was thereupon immediately forbid the Court, and, I believe, soon after took a Dose of Poison. — A Man of deep Cunning, possessed of a Prince's Confidence, keeps him blind, and the People in Awe. — *Lollius* wanted to protract his Power, and actually drained all the royal Treasures of Gold and Jewels, and all their Wardrobes of Silks and Velvets.

The Consul *Alphenus*, whom I have just mentioned, was born at *Cremona*, of very low Ex-

[7] *Horace*'s two Epistles to *Lollius* are certainly to *M. Lollius*, the *Son*. — *Nunc adhibe puro pectore verba Puer!* could never be applicable to the Father; — though some say that Epistle is dislocated, and the latter Part improperly ranged.

traction; for *Horace* [a] reproaches him with having been a Shoe-maker. — But his Talents were far ſuperior to that ignoble Profeſſion. — Animated with an inward Sentiment, which told him, that he was born for ſomething greater, he threw aſide his Paring-knife, applied himſelf to the Study of the Law, under the famous *S. Sulpicius*, and became ſo conſpicuous therein [b], that he deſervedly attained the firſt Dignity in the Empire.

Tigranes, deſerted by his *Parthian* Protectors, and unable alone to reſiſt the *Roman* Power, had Recourſe to humble Entreaties; flattering himſelf with Hopes of obtaining Leave to keep the Crown, as *Artabazes*, whom he had dethroned, was dead, and there was no other Competitor. But *Auguſtus*, to whom he applied for this Purpoſe, referred him to *Caius*; and the young Prince's Determination was not in his Favor. — The Point was therefore to be decided by Arms, and *Caius* accordingly entered *Armenia* in a hoſtile Manner. Spirit and Vigor accompanied his firſt Undertakings, which were attended with Succeſs; but, raſhly engaging in a Conference with his perfidious Enemies, he became the Victim of his Credulity, and received a conſiderable Wound, the Conſequence of which proved fatal. He performed, however, the Purport of his Commiſſion; and, in the Room of *Tigranes*, of whom Hiſtory takes

[a] Sat. I. 3.

[b] *Pompon.* de Orig. Jur.

no farther Notice, made *Ariobarzanes*, by Birth a *Mede*, King of the *Armenians* [1].

He then returned to the Confines of the *Roman* Territories; — but not in the Condition in which he left them. His Wound had affected his Mind, as well as his Body; and, out of a capricious Humor, which the Flatterers about him encouraged, he reſolved abſolutely to remain in thoſe diſtant Parts, and never more to return to *Rome*. *Auguſtus* was obliged to exert all his Authority to make him break this ſtrange Reſolution; and he at Length ſet out, — but died at *Limyrum* in *Lycia*, in the Beginning of the next Year. — His Brother *Lucius* died eighteen Months before, at *Marſeilles*, as he was going to *Spain*, with a Command of the ſame Nature as that which *Caius* had in the *Eaſt*. — *Marſeilles* was originally a *Grecian* Colony from *Phocis*. It was another *Athens*, which not only maintained its Politeneſs and Purity of Language in the Midſt of all the barbarous Nations among which it was ſeated; but preſerved its excellent Policy, and ſound Morals.

By the Death of theſe two Youths, *Auguſtus* was blaſted in all his Hopes, and deprived of every Proſpect of future Enjoyment of Life. — The Preface to his laſt Will ſhowed that it had ſunk very deep, and made Impreſſions not to be effaced. Firmly intending them for his Succeſſors in the Empire, he had brought them up with infinite Care, inſtructed them himſelf in the Rudi-

[1] *Vel. Paterc.* Lib. II. *Tac.* Ann. Lib. II.

ments of Learning, and the Art of writing in Short-hand; and, above all, endeavoured to teach them to imitate his Hand-writing [2], — doubtleſs, in Order to employ them as Secretaries in nice and important Affairs. — He ſtudiouſly avoided giving them an effeminate or oſtentatious Education: — when they ate with him, they did not lie down, as was the general Cuſtom of the *Romans* at their Meals, but ſat at the End of the Table; and whenever he travelled, they always went before, either in a Litter or on Horſe-back: — in ſhort, he never loſt Sight of them. — To check the Pride with which their Birth and the high Station they were deſigned for, might fill their infant Minds, he made them go through a Courſe of Inſtruction in common with other Children. *Verrius Flaccus*, a celebrated Grammarian, was pitched upon for this Purpoſe [3]: but not to give them private Leſſons; for his whole School was transferred to *Catiline*'s Houſe, which was then a Part of the Palace; and the Emperor's Sons were inſtructed there in the ſame Manner as *Verrius*'s other Scholars, whom he was allowed to take with him, upon Condition that he ſhould only complete thoſe he then had, and not receive any more; in Conſideration of which *Auguſtus* allowed him a Penſion of a hundred Seſterces (870 *l.* 5 *ſh.* 10 *d.*) a Year [4]. — The Excellence

[2] *Suet.* Aug. LXIV. LXV.

[3] *Suet.* de illuſt. Gramm.

[4] According to *Arbuthnot*'s Tables. M. *Dacier* makes it but 750 *l.*

of *Verrius*'s Method of Teaching conſiſted chiefly in raiſing an Emulation among the Youths, not only by preſcribing them Trials of Skill, but alſo by ſetting up, as a Price for the Victor, a handſome or curious Copy of ſome eſteemed ancient Author. — He corrected the *Faſti*, which were engraven in Marble, and put in the Semi-circle in the lower Part of the *Forum* of *Præneſte*, near his own Statue.

Tiberius, now *Auguſtus*'s only Reſource, was returned to *Rome* before *Caius Cæſar* died. His Way of Life in *Rhodes* was perfectly ſuited to the Pretence he had made Uſe of to obtain Leave to retire. He took a ſmall Houſe in the Town, and another, not much larger, in the Country; walked about daily in the Places of Exerciſe, viſited the public Schools like a private Man, without any Retinue of Lictors or Uſhers; and behaved to the Citizens of *Rhodes* almoſt as if they had been his Equals [5].

One Morning, planning out what he intended to do that Day, he ſaid he would ſee all the ſick People in the Town. His Servants, miſtaking his Meaning, ordered all the Sick to be brought under a Portico, and ranged in Claſſes, according to their different Diſorders. *Tiberius*, whoſe Deſign was to go from Houſe to Houſe, was greatly ſurpriſed at ſeeing them all collected together, and ſorry for the Trouble they had been put to. He viſited them all, one after another,

[5] *Suet.* Tib. X — XV.

making Excuſes even to the pooreſt, and to thoſe who were entirely unknown to him.

He never exerted his Authority of Tribune there but once, and that was on no very important Occaſion. At a public Lecture, (for he attended conſtantly all the Lectures of the Profeſſors of Eloquence and Philoſophy) two Rhetoricians, or Sophiſts, happened to have a Diſpute in his Preſence, in which he interfered and ſpoke his Mind. The Diſputant, whoſe Opinion he differed from, attacked him very roughly, and, without any Reſpect, told him he was partial. *Tiberius* made no Reply, but went home, returned with his Lictors, ſeated himſelf on the Tribunal, cited the petulant Sophiſt, and committed him to Priſon, to teach him better Manners.

At the Expiration of the five Years of his Tribuneſhip, which were ſpent in this Manner, he wrote a Letter to the Emperor, ſetting forth, that the real Cauſe of his Retiring was to prevent all Suſpicion of his thinking to rival *Caius* and *Lucius Cæſars*; and that, as the Danger was then over, thoſe young Princes being grown up, and fit to hold the ſecond Rank, which was their Right, he humbly deſired Leave to return to *Rome*, and to his Family, being weary of his long Abſence from them. *Auguſtus* flatly denied his Requeſt, and adviſed him to forget his Family, which he had been in ſo great a Hurry to leave; ſo that he was forced to remain in *Rhodes*. All that he could obtain, through the Influence and earneſt Solicitations of his Mother *Livia*, was to

be appointed *Auguſtus*'s Lieutenant; — a Title which maſked the Shame of his involuntary Stay. — From that Time, he lived there even in a lower Station than that of a private Gentleman. He removed farther up into the Country, to avoid the Viſits of the Magiſtrates and General Officers, none of whom paſſed by *Rhodes* without paying their Reſpects to him. — Such was his Situation when *Caius Cæſar* was ſent into the *Eaſt*. *Tiberius* waited on the young Prince in the Iſle of *Chios*, (*Suetonius* ſays *Samos*), and ſoon found that he had been ſtrongly prejudiced againſt him by the deſigning *Lollius*. *Caius* received him with uncommon Coldneſs, and *Tiberius* was thought [6] to have tampered with ſome of his Attendants; but more particularly with certain Centurions who had long been attached to him, in Order to create Diſſenſions among the Soldiery. *Auguſtus* wrote to him about it; and *Tiberius* deſired, that, for his Juſtification, Somebody, he cared not of what Rank or Condition, might be ſet over him, to watch his Conduct, and give an Account of all his Steps. So great were his Apprehenſions, that he avoided, with the utmoſt Scruple, every Thing that could poſſibly give the leaſt Umbrage; even ſo far as to decline the uſual Exerciſes of Riding and of Arms, and to put on a *Grecian* Dreſs inſtead of the *Roman* Gown.

He ſpent near two Years in this melancholy

[6] *Dio*. Lib. LV.

Situation, every Day more and more expoſed to Hatred and Contempt, of which he received ſome Proofs from *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, who had afterwards ſufficient Cauſe to repent of his imprudent Behaviour. — He had received his Crown from *Antony*, to whom he continued faithful till after the Battle of *Actium*, and was confirmed in the Poſſeſſion of it by *Auguſtus*. But ſome of his Friends at the *Roman* Court having wrote him Word, that *Caius Cæſar*, the Emperor's Grandſon, was the Favorite, and that it would not be ſafe at that Juncture to ſeem engaged with *Tiberius*, he more than ſlighted this laſt, who, when Emperor, enticed him to *Rome*, by Means of his Mother *Livia*, impeached him before the Senate, and drove him to the dreadful Extremity of killing himſelf, after he had reigned fifty Years [7]. His Kingdom was united to the *Roman* Empire. — The People of *Niſmes* pulled down *Tiberius*'s Statues; and, at a Feaſt where all were very merry, one of the Gueſts offered to go immediately to *Rhodes*, if *Caius* liked it, and bring him back the Head of the Exile; for ſo *Tiberius* was called at that Court.

The Danger increaſed, *Tiberius* grew more urgent to be recalled, and *Livia* backed his Requeſt with all her Might. But ſtill *Auguſtus* would not grant it till he had firſt conſulted his Son *Caius*, who, luckily for *Tiberius*, being then undeceived in Regard to *Lollius*, made no Oppoſi-

[7] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. II. *Dio.* Lib. VI.

tion. — *Tiberius* was thereupon permitted to return to *Rome*; — but upon the expreſs Condition, that he ſhould live there as a private Man, and not meddle in any Shape with what concerned the Government. — Yet, even under theſe extremely unfavorable Appearances, he ſtill entertained ſtrong Hopes of his future Riſe, founded, ſays *Suetonius*, upon the Predictions of the Aſtrologer *Thraſyllus*, with whom he had frequent Interviews during his Stay at *Rhodes*; — for, devoured by Ambition, and keeping his Eye conſtantly fixed upon the Empire, between which and him he ſaw but two Lives; he was fond of conſulting thoſe Impoſtors, who pretend to a Knowledge of Futurity. But before he would put any Confidence in this *cunning* Man, he made him undergo a Trial in which ſeveral had miſcarried. — Theſe Sort of Things are always done myſteriouſly, and *Tiberius* uſed to ſet about it in the following Manner:

He had a Houſe built upon a ſteep Rock, cloſe to the Sea [*]. One of his Freedmen, the only Perſon in the Secret, an illiterate Fellow, but very ſtrong, led the Aſtrologer through ſteep and difficult Paths to a Centry-box, quite on the Top of the Houſe; and if *Tiberius* ſuſpected Fraud or Falſity in what the Conjurer told him, his Freedman threw him inſtantly into the Sea, which beat againſt the Rock, and by that Means buried him and his Maſter's Secrets.

[*] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. VI.

Thraſyllus, being conducted to this Place, had the good Fortune to pleaſe *Tiberius*, by promiſing him the Empire, and by the ingenious Turn he gave to every Thing he ſaid. *Tiberius*, ſtruck with it, aſked him, whether he could draw his own Horoſcope, and, by comparing the Time of his Birth with the then State of the Heavens, tell what he was at that Inſtant to hope for, or to fear. — The Aſtrologer, doubtleſs apprized of the Fate of his Predeceſſors, looked at the Stars, — ſhuddered, — looked at them again, — trembled ſtill more, and at laſt cried out, that he was threatened with a great and imminent Peril. *Tiberius*, convinced of his Skill by this Experiment, which appeared to him beyond all Equivocation, embraced him, bid him take Courage, and from that Hour made him one of his intimate Friends. Nay, not ſatisfied with conſulting him and liſtening to his Anſwers with Docility and Confidence, as if they had been Oracles, he reſolved to learn the *fine* Science himſelf; and had all the Leiſure he could wiſh for, to receive Leſſons from his *knowing* Maſter.

Upon his Return to *Rome*, he gave his Son *Druſus* the manly Robe, and the Houſe he lived in, which had formerly been *Pompey*'s. He himſelf went to live in *Mecenas*'s Houſe in the *Eſquiliæ*, and there remained unnoticed, and unemployed, till the Death of *Caius*, that is to ſay, for near two Years[9]; for he returned to *Rome* in

[9] *Tillemont.* Aug. c. XII.

the Month of *July* DCCLIII, and *Caius Cæſar* died on the twenty-firſt of *February* DCCLV, of which I am now ſpeaking.

On the twenty-ſeventh of the enſuing Month of *June* (DCCLV) *Auguſtus* adopted *Tiberius*; — ſolemnly declaring on this Occaſion, that the Welfare of the Republic was his only Motive for ſo doing: — and indeed there was a great Deal of Truth in this Declaration, highly honorable to *Tiberius*. — *Auguſtus* found that he had a Capacity for War, Reſolution to maintain proper Diſcipline, great Penetration, and the Talent of knowing Men, and what they were fit for [1]. Theſe were great Qualifications, and ſeemed to promiſe Happineſs to the Subjects of ſuch a Prince.

I therefore think that the Report then ſpread, of *Auguſtus*'s chuſing him for his Succeſſor, merely to make himſelf be the more regretted, muſt be looked upon as a ſenſeleſs Calumny [2]. — *Auguſtus*'s Government did not ſtand in Need of being compared with that of a bad Prince, to make it be eſteemed and loved: and it is plain from Facts, that he did not think of *Tiberius* till he had no other Reſource. — *Marcellus*, *Agrippa*, the two *Cæſars* his Sons by Adoption, were dead; — ſo that he cannot, properly ſpeaking, be ſaid to have choſen his Succeſſor; but rather to have received him from the Hand of Chance: — nor

[1] *Vell.* Lib. II. 104. *Suet.* in Tib. XXI.

[2] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. I. *Suet.* ubi ſupra.

did he think he received a bad Preſent. Not but that he perceived, through all his good Qualities, bad ones which ſhocked him: — a ſavage Roughneſs, ſo diſpleaſing, that if *Tiberius* chanced to come into the Room whilſt he was talking of any Thing gay or merry, he immediately changed the Diſcourſe: — a dull Slowneſs, which affected even his Speech, and rendered it ſo diſagreeably heavy, that *Auguſtus*, one Day, could not help exclaiming, "How do I pity the Fate of the "*Roman* People, that they muſt fall under thoſe "heavy Jaws[3]". — But, above all, his Diſſimulation was ſo deep, that there was Room to fear his apparent Virtues were but maſked Vices.

Auguſtus was ſo ſenſible of theſe Defects, that he hinted at them in the Senate, when he deſired, and obtained, the Tribunitian Power, a ſecond Time, for *Tiberius*, ſoon after his Adoption. In the Speech which he read, as was his uſual Way, he dropped ſome ambiguous Words concerning *Tiberius*'s Manner and Behaviour, and made ſuch odd Excuſes for them, as almoſt amounted to Reproaches: — and, in his Will, he declared[4], that he had adopted *Tiberius*, becauſe a cruel Fate had robbed him of his Sons, *Caius* and *Luciius Cæſars*[5]; — which was ſaying pretty plainly, that he took him for Want of a better. —

[3] Miſerum populum Romanum, qui ſub tam lentis maxillis erit! *Suet.*

[4] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. XV.

[5] *Suet.* in Tib. § XXIII.

In ſhort, it is aſſured, that before he came to a Reſolution to adopt *Tiberius*, he had caſt his Eye upon *Germanicus*, the Son of *Druſus*, and Grandſon to his Siſter *Octavia*, an amiable Youth, beloved and eſteemed by the whole Nation. But *Livia* diſſuaded him from it: — and, indeed, it muſt be owned that it would have been hard to prefer the Nephew, the Son of a younger Branch, and but nineteen Years of Age, before the Uncle, who was the elder Branch, a Man of ripe Years, and who had given Proofs of his Capacity in Commands of great Importance.

I muſt therefore confeſs, that, as Things were circumſtanced, I do not ſee how *Auguſtus* could well do otherwiſe, than make *Tiberius* his Heir. — Not being able to find what he could have wiſhed for, he was forced to take up with what he had. — To which may be added, that, as long as he lived, he had Reaſon to applaud his Choice; and that his Regard for *Tiberius*, which was long accompanied with a Mixture even of Antipathy, grew ſtronger, and more ſincere, in Proportion as he found him anſwer his Intentions.

In his private Life [c], *Tiberius* behaved with exemplary Modeſty; and, from the Hour of his Adoption, he was ſo perfectly ſubmiſſive to the paternal Authority of his adoptive Father, that, looking upon himſelf as a Perſon not entitled of Right to any Thing, he made no Gifts, freed no Slaves, nor accepted of any Legacy or Inherit-

[c] *Suet.* Tib. § XV.

ance

ance without firſt aſking *Auguſtus*'s Leave. In public Employments, he became really the Support of the State.

Auguſtus, however, in adopting him, did not intend that all his Hopes ſhould centre there; for, at the ſame Time, he adopted the laſt of his Grandſons, *Agrippa Poſthumus*; and though *Tiberius*'s Son, *Druſus Nero* was grown up to Man's Eſtate, he obliged him to adopt his Nephew *Germanicus* [7]. — By this Means, his Succeſſion was again eſtabliſhed on many Props.

As to *Tiberius*, nothing could now give him Umbrage but the Adoption of *Agrippa*; for *Germanicus*, by becoming his Son, had no Right to the Empire till after him; and that only Rival, *Agrippa Poſthumus*, ſoon took Care to deliver him from all Uneaſineſs on his Account. He was of a fierce and ſavage Temper [8], had no other Merit than that of great Strength of Body, which he exerted brutally; no Elevation of Mind, no Dignity of Sentiments, nor the leaſt Taſte for any polite or ſocial Accompliſhment. — Fiſhing was his chief Occupation, and he prided himſelf ſo much upon it, that he took the Name of *Neptune*. Raſh and indiſcrete to the utmoſt Exceſs, he railed againſt *Livia*, accuſing her of Want of natural Affection for him; and even charged the Emperor with having wronged him of his Father's Inheritance. *Auguſtus*, aſhamed to have a Son and Heir ſo little worthy of him, and foured by *Livia*'s Com-

[8] *Tacit.* Ann. Lib. I. *Suet.* Aug. § LXV, LXVI.

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plaints, baniſhed him to *Sorrento*, on the Coaſt of *Campania*. But this Puniſhment, inſtead of taming the young Prince, ſerved only to increaſe his Fury: upon which *Auguſtus* procured a Decree of the Senate, baniſhing him irrevocably for Life, and removed him to the Iſland of *Planaſia*, now *Pianoſa*, on the *Tuſcan* Coaſt, where he was kept a cloſe Priſoner, till *Tiberius*, immediately after his Acceſſion to the Throne, ſent thither a Centurion, who murdered him [9]. — *Tiberius*, who flatly denied having given any ſuch Order, was ſoon afterwards greatly perplexed by the Appearance of one of *Agrippa*'s Slaves, who had the Aſſurance to perſonate his deceaſed Maſter, and, as ſuch, formed no inconſiderable Party; but, fooliſhly venturing to go to *Rome*, and there to hold clandeſtine nocturnal Cabals, he was ſeized, carried to the Palace, and privately put to Death.

Diſputed Nativities are no new Things. No Eminency or Grandeur exempts from the Attacks of Fraud and Impudence. — A common Fellow, ſome Time after the Death of the noble *Marcellus*, took it in his Head that he would paſs himſelf upon the Public, and upon *Cæſar*, for *Octavia*'s real Child. He had been given out to Nurſe, ſaid he, and being but a weakly Child, the Perſon, intruſted by *Octavia*, had given her back, as her Son, his own Child, who was a thriving Boy, and kept *him*, the true *Marcellus*, in his

[9] *Suet.* Tib. § XXII. *Dio.* Lib. LVII. *Tac.* Ann. Lib. I.

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Room, — a Secret which he had revealed only a little before his Death. This he perſiſted in affirming with the greateſt Impudence, until *Auguſtus* condemned his pretended Nephew to be a Galley-ſlave [1].

Auguſtus received this Year a fifth Prorogation of his immenſe Power, again reformed the Senate with ſingular Prudence, numbered the Inhabitants of *Italy*, regulated the Laws relative to the Emancipating of Slaves, and continued his Labors to ſettle the Civil Government of the State. But all his Happineſs was embittered by the perverſe Diſpoſition of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, one of the greateſt Griefs he ever felt; and by the younger *Julia*, who was beginning to tread in the Footſteps of her Mother: — nor could the Mildneſs of his Government even now ſecure him from Plots againſt his Life. — One of theſe, which was diſcovered this Year, and which I ſhall relate in *Seneca*'s Words [2], afforded him a glorious Opportunity of diſplaying the nobleſt Magnanimity.

Cinna, the Grandſon of *Pompey*, but a Man of little Merit, was accuſed of fomenting and heading a Conſpiracy againſt the Prince. One of the Accomplices, who was the Informer, particularized the Time, the Place, and the Meaſures taken to kill the Emperor, whilſt he ſhould be offering up a Sacrifice; in ſuch Manner that the Crime was proved beyond all Doubt. *Auguſtus* reſolved

[1] *Val. Max.* Lib. IX. c. 15.
[2] De Clem. Lib. IX.

to do Juſtice on the perfidious *Cinna*, and to that End convened a Council of his Friends, to meet the next Day.

The intervening Night brought with it Reflections, which threw him into a violent Agitation. — He who had formerly, at Supper with *M. Antony*, dictated the horrid Edict of Proſcription, could not now, without Horror, think of condemning a ſingle Citizen, whoſe Life had been blameleſs till then. — So much was *Auguſtus* changed; — ſo much had other Habits got Poſſeſſion of his Soul. — "Shall I then, (ſaid he, "expoſtulating with himſelf, and venting the "different Thoughts of his deeply wounded "Mind), ſhall I then let my Aſſaſſin live in "Eaſe and Quiet, and take all the Grief to myſelf? "After ſo many Civil Wars have reſpected my "Days, after eſcaping ſo many Dangers in "Battles by Sea and Land; a Traitor would "butcher me at the Foot of the Altars, — and "ſhall I not puniſh him as he juſtly deſerves!"— There he would ſtop; and, after a ſhort Pauſe, interrupted by Sighs, examining and judging himſelf more ſeverely than he did *Cinna*, — "If thy "Death (continued he, with an indignant Emo-"tion pointed at himſelf) be the Object of the "Wiſhes of ſo many *Romans*, canſt thou be fit "to live? — When will there be an End of "Puniſhments! — When wilt thou ceaſe to ſhed "the Blood of thy Fellow-Citizens! — Thy "Head ſtands expoſed as a Mark to the young "Nobility, to immortalize themſelves by killing

" thee. — No! Life is not worth preſerving, if " ſo many others muſt periſh to ſave thee."

Livia, who overheard him, and ſaw his Agitation, at Length interrupted him: — "Will you " (ſaid ſhe) hear a Woman's Advice? — Imitate " the Phyſicians, who, when the uſual Remedies " do not ſucceed, try their Contraries. Hitherto " you have gained nothing by Severity. A Con- " ſpiracy puniſhed has only produced a new one. " *Salvidienus* was followed by the younger *Lepidus*, " *Lepidus* by *Murena* and *Cepio*, and they again " by *Egnatius*. — I could name more. Try now " what Clemency will do. — Pardon *Cinna*. — " His Deſign is diſcovered; he can no longer " hurt you; and your Lenity to him may be of " Service to your Reputation."

Auguſtus, charmed with the Advice, which *now* agreed perfectly with his real Diſpoſition, thanked *Livia*, ſent his Friends Word not to come, took *Cinna* into an inner Room, ordered every one to leave them, and, after bidding him ſit down, ſpoke to him thus: "I deſire, in the " firſt Place, that you will not interrupt me in " what I am going to ſay; and that you will " hear me out before you attempt to anſwer: " when I have done, you ſhall be at Liberty to " reply. — I found you, *Cinna*, in the Camp of " my Enemy. Your Engagements againſt me were " not the Effect of a Choice which might change, " but the Conſequence of your Birth. — Under " theſe Circumſtances I ſpared your Life; — I " reſtored you to your Patrimony. — You are

" now in ſo rich, ſo flouriſhing a Situation, that
" even Conquerors envy the Condition of the
" Conquered. — You deſired to be made a Prieſt:
" — I made you one, preferring you to Com-
" petitors whoſe Fathers had fought for me; —
" and yet, after heaping upon you all theſe
" Favors, you would aſſaſſinate me."

At this Word, *Cinna* cried out, that ſuch Madneſs had never entered his Thoughts. — "You
" do not keep your Word, (ſaid *Auguſtus*); our
" Agreement was, that you ſhould not interrupt
" me. — Yes *Cinna*, I again ſay, you would aſ-
" ſaſſinate me." — He then told him the Place and Day they had agreed upon, named his Accomplices, the Method laid down, and who was to ſtrike the Blow: and upon *Cinna*'s remaining ſilent, not in Conſequence of their Convention, but through Surpriſe, Terror, and the Reproaches of his Conſcience, — "What Motive (continued
" he) could induce you to form ſuch a Deſign?
" Is it that you want my Place? — The *Roman*
" People are indeed greatly to be pitied, if I am
" the only Hindrance to your reigning over them:
" — You, who cannot govern your own Houſe,
" who, but lately, were worſted by a Freedman
" in an Affair which you had at Heart; you,
" who find nothing eaſy, unleſs it be to form
" Conſpiracies againſt your Prince and Benefactor.
" — But, let us ſee, let us examine, whether I
" am in Fact the only one that curbs your am-
" bitious Projects. — Think you, that a *Paulus*,
" a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Coſſus*, a *Servilius*, and

" many other Nobles, who do not decorate them-
" ſelves with empty Titles, but reflect back upon
" their Anceſtors the Honors which they have
" received from them; think you that they will
" ever be brought to ſubmit to your Government?"
Auguſtus continued ſpeaking to him in this Manner for upwards of two Hours, purpoſely to prolong the only Revenge he intended to take, and then concluded thus: " A ſecond Time,
" *Cinna*, I give you your Life. — I ſpared you
" when you was my Enemy; and now I forgive
" you, though to that Name you have added thoſe
" of Traitor and Parricide. — Let us, from this
" Day, begin to be ſincerely Friends. Let us vie
" with each other; I, to ſupport the Good I
" have done you; you, to make a ſuitable Return.
" — Let us try to render it doubtful, whether
" I am moſt generous, or you moſt grateful."

To this noble Language he added Deeds. The next Year he made *Cinna* Conſul, obligingly complaining, that he had been too timid in not aſking it; and *Cinna*, on his Side, took every Opportunity to ſhow his real Senſibility of the Favor, and, from this Time, his zealous and unſhaken Attachment to the Prince to whom he had twice owed his Life. — Dying, he made *Auguſtus* his ſole Heir, as a Token of his ſincere Gratitude. — Nor was that the only or the greateſt Advantage which *Auguſtus* reaped from his Clemency on this Occaſion; for it gained him the Hearts of every one ſo effectually, that no Plot or Conſpiracy was ever more attempted againſt him.

This greatly and juſtly celebrated Action is the Subject of one of the inimitable *Corneille*'s fineſt Tragedies. — *Lewis* the XIVth went to ſee it acted, the Evening before the Day appointed for the Execution of the unhappy Chevalier *de Rohan*; and was ſo ſtruck with the Clemency of *Auguſtus*, that he owned afterwards, if any one had aſked a Pardon that Night for the Chevalier, it would not have been in his Power to refuſe it. But none durſt take upon them to move him in that Manner, and the Chevalier periſhed. — Intenſe Tyranny, where a Subject dares not petition! and Littleneſs of Soul, that muſt be preſſed to forgive!

The hoſtile Commotions of the *Germans* in the Year of *Rome* DCCLII, and the two following Years, were eaſily quelled by *M. Vinicius*, who, in Conſequence thereof, obtained the Honors of Triumph. That War was indeed but trifling, though the ſycophant *Velleius*, to magnify the Exploits of *Vinicius*, to whom his Work is dedicated, calls it an *immenſe* War [3]. But in the Year DCCLV, it became ſo ſerious, that *Tiberius* was ſent into *Germany* immediately after his Adoption. The Seaſon was pretty far advanced when he ſet out; but, ſeconded by *Sentius Saturninus*, a Man of Years and Experience, (Father of C. *Sentius Saturninus*, who was one of the Conſuls for this Year), he advanced into the Enemy's Country with the utmoſt Expedition, ſcoured all

[3] Immenſum exarſerat bellum. *Lib.* II.

the Territories bordering upon the *Lower Rhine*, ſubdued the *Caninefats*, *Attuarians*, and *Bructeri*, paſſed the *Weſer*, and reduced the *Cheruſci* [a]. Theſe Operations prolonged the Campaign till *December*, when *Tiberius*, after ſettling his Winter-Quarters beyond the *Rhine*, near the Head of the *Lippe*, in Order to be in Readineſs to purſue his Operations early the next Year, returned to *Rome*, to watch what was doing there, and prevent his being ſupplanted in the good Opinion of *Auguſtus*, upon whoſe Affection he, warily, did not much depend.

Early in the Spring of the next Year (DCCLVI), penetrating into the very Heart of *Germany*, he ſubdued the *Cauci*, and the haughty *Lombards*, who then inhabited the *Marche* of *Brandenburgh*, on each Side of the *Elbe*, and with the Aſſiſtance of his Fleet, which ſailed round the Coaſt, and anchored in the Mouth of this River, from whence his numerous Legions were plentifully ſupplied with all Sorts of Proviſions and Refreſhments, ſpread ſuch Terror around him, that the *Germans* ſued for Peace, which was granted. *Velleius*, who ſerved in this Expedition, embelliſhes his Account of it with all the pompous Expreſſions he could think of; but owns that there was but one Battle, in which the *Barbarians*, attempting to ſurpriſe the *Roman* Army, were repulſed with great Slaughter. *Tiberius* gained a ſecond Time the Glory of reducing the whole Country from

[a] *Suet.* Tib. § XVI. *Vell.* ubi ſupra. *Dio.* Lib. XVI.

the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*: for which *Auguſtus* took the Title of *Imperator* for the fifteenth Time, permitted *Tiberius* to aſſume it for the fourth, and allowed *Sentius Saturninus* the Ornaments of Triumph [5].

The *Marcomanni*, who, upon *Druſus*'s ſubduing the *Weſtern* Parts of *Germany*, had quitted their native Land, then threatened with Servitude, and retired into *Bohemia*, under the Conduct of their Chief *Maroboduus*, had extended their Poſſeſſions, and increaſed their warlike Strength, ſo as even to alarm the Pride of the *Romans*, who could not bear that any Nation near their Dominions (and the *Marcomanni* were now not above two hundred Miles from the Frontiers of *Italy*) ſhould pretend not to be ſubject to them. Nobly aſſerting the Freedom and Independency of his Countrymen, who, in Return, choſe him for their King, this brave Prince, with ſeventy thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe, well diſciplined after the *Roman* Manner, ſcorned to become tributary, and even bid Defiance to the haughty Maſters of the World. — *Tiberius*, who was ordered to humble him, reſolved to attack his Territories in two different Parts at the ſame Time; and to this Purpoſe directed *S. Saturninus*, who commanded under him, to croſs the Country of the *Catti* with a numerous Army, and open himſelf a Paſſage through the *Hercynian* Foreſt, ſo as to enter *Bohemia* on the *Weſt*; whilſt he, with another

[5] *Bucher.* Belg. Rom. Lib. II.

Army, assembled at *Carnuntum* (a Place of great Importance on the *Danube*, between *Vienna* and *Presburgh*), should form his Attack on the Southern Side. — If this well-concerted Plan had taken Place, *Maroboduus* must have been undone.

The two Generals, *Tiberius* on one Side, and *Saturninus* on the other, were within five Days March of the Territories of the *Marcomanni*, when a sudden Revolt of the *Pannonians*, *Dalmatians*, and all the People of those Countries, forced the *Romans* to turn back, in Order to prevent more urgent Dangers. A necessary Care was preferred before a Motive of mere Glory; and *Tiberius*, concluding a Treaty with *Maroboduus*, hastened to stem the Torrent of the Rebels, who might otherwise soon have entered *Italy* [s].

The Revolt began in *Dalmatia*, the Inhabitants of which, ill-brooking the Payment of any Tributes, and doubly exasperated by the oppressive Manner in which they were levied, seized the Opportunity which the Preparations for War against *Maroboduus* offered them, as a Means of shaking off the Yoke; — for *Tiberius*, in Order to form the Army assembled at *Carnuntum*, had withdrawn the *Roman* Troops from *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*; *Valerius Messalinus*, Governor of both these Provinces, was gone to join him with the greatest Part of his Forces; and, which completely opened the Eyes of the *Dalmatians*, Recruits had been raised from among their Youth; — a Step which

[s] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. II.

made them ſenſible of their own Strength. Under theſe Circumſtances, encouraged and headed by one of their Countrymen, named *Bato*, they attempted to recover their Liberty; to which End, inſtead of joining *Tiberius*'s Army, as they were ordered, they fell upon the *Romans* that yet remained in their Country, and killed a great Number of them. — The *Pannonians*, catching the Signal, immediately joined them, under the Command of another *Bato*.

Never did Fire catch with ſuch Violence and Rapidity. In a very ſhort Time the Rebels were in Arms, amounting to two hundred thouſand Foot and eight thouſand Horſe. Judiciouſly dividing their Strength, one Part was to attempt a Paſſage into *Italy*, between *Nauportum* (*Ober Laubach*) and *Trieſte*, and another over-run *Macedonia*, whilſt a third remained at Home, to defend their own Country. In the firſt Heat of this ſudden Revolt, all the *Roman* Citizens and Traders then among them were murdered, or made Slaves, the Garriſons were cut to Pieces, and their Poſts wreſted from them. The Towns of *Sirmich* and *Salona*, being in a Condition to defend themſelves, reſiſted, and were beſieged; the former by the *Pannonians*, and the latter by the *Dalmatians*. — This was in the Year of *Rome* DCCLVII.

The Alarm reached *Rome*; — *Auguſtus*'s Reſolution was ſhaken: — He was heard to ſay, that, unleſs Care was taken the Enemy might be before the Walls of the Capital of the Empire in ten

Days Time. — Troops were raiſed with all poſſible Speed; — the Veterans were recalled to their Standards; — the richeſt Citizens, and even the Ladies, were ordered to ſend their ſtouteſt Slaves to be made free and inliſted: — the Senators and *Roman* Knights offered every Aſſiſtance in their Power, and many of them went to ſerve in Perſon. — But ſtill, theſe Succours were ſlow and diſtant.

Cecina Severus, who commanded in *Mœſia*, was the firſt that came up with the Enemy, and made the *Pannonians* raiſe the Siege of *Sirmich*. *Meſſalinus*, detached by *Tiberius*, marched againſt the *Dalmatian Bato*, who had been obliged to leave *Salona*, by a Wound he received before that Place. The two Armies met, and the *Barbarians* had ſome Advantage; but, falling ſoon after into an Ambuſh, they were defeated by *Meſſalinus*, who thereby merited the Ornaments of Triumph. *Tiberius* arrived at laſt, and took upon him the general Direction of the War, which he managed with his uſual Warineſs and Circumſpection, relying more upon Prudence than Strength, and endeavouring to diſtreſs the Enemy by Want, rather than expoſe his Troops to their impetuous Fury; though he was then at the Head of fifteen Legions, and as many Auxiliaries[7]; among which laſt the two Brothers *Rhymetalces* and *Rhaſcuporis*, Kings of *Thrace*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves eminently. But this Slowneſs, than which nothing could be more proper in the then Situation of Things, as

[7] *Suet.* Tib. § XVI.

the Event ſoon proved, was not pleaſing to his Army: — even *Auguſtus*, when firſt informed of it, almoſt ſuſpected him of wanting to protract the War, in Order to keep the Command in his own Hands; and therefore, to make him exert himſelf, ſent *Germanicus* to him in the Beginning of the next Year, with Troops which had been raiſed in *Rome* and *Italy*. He depended upon the Activity of this amiable Prince, then in the Flower and Vigor of Life, and upon the Integrity of his Heart; open, generous, and incapable of harbouring a Thought which was not ſtrictly conſiſtent with his Duty.

This Year, DCCLVIII, juſtified *Tiberius*'s extraordinary Circumſpection. — *Cecina Severus*, who had been obliged to return to *Mœſia*, to guard that Province from the Incurſions of the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, now marched back againſt the *Pannonians*, accompanied by *Plautius Sylvanus*, who had brought him a ſtrong Reinforcement. The Troops, commanded by theſe two Generals, conſiſted of five Legions, beſides a great Number of auxiliary Troops, among which were *Rhymetalces*'s *Thracian* Cavalry. Thinking that the Enemy was at a great Diſtance, the *Romans* marched on very heedleſsly, till, on a ſudden, they found themſelves ſurrounded on all Sides. — Every Thing then gave Way, and was thrown into Confuſion, except the Legions, whoſe Valor happily remedied the Imprudence of their Chiefs: bravely facing their unexpected Foes, and then advancing upon them, they routed them in their

Turn, and gained a complete Victory. — But it was a bloody one; for a great Number of Soldiers, and ſeveral Officers of Diſtinction, periſhed in this unfortunate Affair. — *Germanicus*, on his Side, conquered the *Mazetians*, a People of *Dalmatia*, in a pitched Battle; and *Tiberius* conducted Matters with ſuch Prudence, that the *Pannonians*, reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions, and beaten from all their Poſts, forſook their Allies the next Year, laid down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror's Mercy.

A fourth, but by no Means the leaſt difficult Campaign, put an End to this War, in the Year DCCLX, by the entire Reduction of the *Dalmatians*. — *Tiberius*, dividing his Forces into three Bodies, one of which was commanded by *Lepidus*, another by *Silanus*, or, more probably, *Sylvanus*, put himſelf, with *Germanicus*, at the Head of the third. Theſe three Armies over-ran all *Dalmatia*, waſting, burning, and plundering every Thing before them; ſo that the *Dalmatians* had no Reſource left, but to ſhut themſelves up in their two remaining Towns, *Andetrium*, near *Salona*, and *Arduba*. — *Tiberius* inveſted the former, and, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, carried it by Storm.

Arduba, to which *Germanicus* laid Siege, was filled with Deſerters, who, knowing that they were not entitled to any Mercy from the *Romans*, reſolved to hold out to the laſt Extremity, and then to die in the Breach; but the Natives of the Place were bent upon ſurrendering. This Diverſity of Opinions produced violent Conteſts,

and theſe ended in a down-right Battle, in which ſeveral were killed; — but what was very ſingular, is, that the Women, more obſtinately tenacious of their Liberty than the Men, ſided with the Deſerters, againſt their Huſbands; and when theſe laſt, having got the better in their inteſtine Feuds, opened their Gates to the *Romans*, they, without heſitating a Moment betwixt Death and Servitude, ſnatched up their Children with a frantic Fury, and threw themſelves with them, ſome into Fires which they had made for that Purpoſe, and others into the River which bathed their Walls.

The *Pannonian Bato* had fled from *Andetrium*, and diſappeared; but the *Dalmatian* of that Name, who had ſtill a few Men about him, though not enough to enable him to try his Fortune any longer, offered to ſurrender to *Tiberius*, on Condition that his Life, and the Lives of his Followers ſhould be ſpared. His Terms were granted, and he appeared with a noble Courage before *Tiberius*'s Tribunal, where, being aſked what were the Motives of his Revolt: "*Romans!* (ſaid he) it "was your own Fault; — You ſent Wolves, and "not Shepherds, to keep your Flocks."

In the Courſe of this War, *Tiberius* gave indiſputable Proofs of uncommon Prudence, indefatigable Activity, and, which is very remarkable in ſuch a Character as his afterwards proved to be, of great Humanity and Mildneſs. *Velleius*, who was an Eye-witneſs, aſſures us [a], that he

[a] Lib. II. 114.

took

took infinite Care of his ſick and wounded Officers, and that his Carriage and Litter were entirely for their Uſe. — An Obſervation which ſhows, by the by, how little the *Romans* had, even then, given Way to Luxury in their military Service; ſince there was, in this great Army, no other Carriage of Eaſe, nor any other Litter, than that which belonged to the Prince, who was the General. *Velleius* adds, that *Tiberius*, of his own Accord, and with the utmoſt Readineſs, furniſhed all Things neceſſary for the Sick; Phyſicians, Surgeons, Medicines, proper Food, and even the Means of Bathing; all Sorts of proper and convenient Utenſils having been brought to the Camp, by his Order, ſolely for that Purpoſe. As to himſelf, he was continually on Horſe-back, and only ſat down to his Meals. Attentively careful to maintain a proper Diſcipline, he cautiouſly avoided too great Severity, chuſing rather to adviſe and reprimand, than puniſh, overlooking many Things; but cutting ſhort when Abuſes were likely to be carried too far, or might become contagious. — What Pity, that a Prince ſo well acquainted with Virtue, ſhould ever have preferred Vice and Tyranny! — But it is an obvious Obſervation, that thoſe Princes leave the greateſt Reputations who die before they attain to the Plenitude of Power. Great Talents, while under a proper Reſtraint, operate glorioufly for the public Good and the Honor of their Poſſeſſors; — when that Reſtraint is removed, they too often break out into Irregularities, and become

the Means of encouraging thoſe Paſſions which they checked before. — Had *Caligula* died, like *Titus*, in the third Year of his Reign, or had *Nero* died in the fifth of his Empire, what a Character would they have left behind them! Or, on the other Hand, had *Marcellus*, *Druſus Cæſar*, or *Germanicus*, obtained the Empire, who knows whether they would have fully anſwered the high Hopes conceived of them? — This is ſtrictly connected with another very juſt Remark, That the greateſt and beſt Princes have been thoſe who, in the former Part of their Life, were private Men.

Tiberius's Victory was great, and very opportune[a]; for beſides adding to the *Roman* Territories all that vaſt Tract of Country then called *Illyricum*, ſituated between *Noricum* and *Italy*, the *Danube* and the *Adriatic Sea*, *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, it revived the drooping Spirits of the whole Nation, exceſſively dejected by the melancholy Circumſtances of *Varus*'s Defeat, which happened juſt at the ſame Time, and hindered the *Germans* from joining their Forces to thoſe of the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, as they would undoubtedly have done after their Conqueſt of this too negligent Commander, if theſe laſt had ſtill been in Arms.

A Triumph and many other Honors were deſervedly decreed to *Tiberius*; and it was propoſed in the Senate to give him ſome glorious Surname, ſuch as the *Pannonian*, or the *Invincible*; whilſt

[a] *Suet.* Tib. § XVI. XVII.

others, thinking it ſtill more honorable to celebrate a Virtue, of which he had indeed the outward Appearance, but by no Means the Reality, ſtyled him the *Pious*, meaning a Son full of tender and reſpectful Attachment to his adoptive Father. But *Auguſtus*, who perhaps was not overfond of this ardent Zeal to exalt *Tiberius*, told them, "That "the Name which he reſerved for him, after his "Death, would be ſufficient." — He was much in the Right; for the Name of *Auguſtus*, to which the ſupreme Authority was annexed could not but obliterate every other empty Title of Honor deſtitute of Power.

As to the Triumph, *Tiberius* himſelf deferred it, on Account of the deep Mourning into which *Varus*'s recent Defeat had thrown the whole City. He made his Entry, however, but only in the common Robe of the *Romans*, with a Crown of Laurel, and aſcended a Tribunal prepared for him in the *Campus Martius*, around which all the Senators were ranged. There he ſeated himſelf at *Auguſtus*'s Side, between the two Conſuls; and after ſaluting the People, who crowded thither to receive him, he was conducted with Pomp to the *Capitol*, and ſeveral other Temples, where he returned Thanks to the Gods

Germanicus, who had ſeconded him perfectly well in the *Pannonian* War, and who was come to *Rome* in Perſon with the News of his Victory, obtained the Ornaments of Triumph and thoſe of Pretor, though he was yet but Queſtor; with the Right of ſpeaking in the Senate immediately after

thoſe of conſular Dignity, and a Diſpenſation to be Conſul before the Age preſcribed by the Laws.

Privileges of the ſame Kind, but inferior, becauſe he was younger, were alſo granted to *Tiberius*'s Son *Druſus*, together with a Right to ſit in the Senate-houſe, though he was not yet a Senator, and the Precedency before all the ancient Pretors, after he ſhould be Queſtor.

P. Quintilius Varus [1], whoſe dreadful Diſaſter now filled all *Rome* with Grief, was born of a lately ennobld Family, and had been Conſul with *Tiberius*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCXXXIX. — He was made Governor of *Syria* after *Sentius Saturninus*, whom he likewiſe ſucceeded in the Government of *Germany* [2]. — Chance, rather than Merit, had thrown him in the Way of Promotion; for he was not a Man of any Genius. He was indeed of a mild and peaceable Diſpoſition; but had two great Faults, which proved the Cauſes of his Ruin, — Credulity, and Love

[1] This, certainly, was not the *Quintilius* mentioned by *Horace*; for he died long before this Calamity, *viz.* in the Year of *Rome* DCCXLIII or DCCXLIV: nor was he, I think, famed for any Thing but *Virgil* and *Horace*'s Friendſhip. As ſuch only he is ma ked in *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon* by the Name of *Quintilius Cremonenſis*; — Some ingenious Provincial, I ſuppoſe, and *Virgil*'s Neighbour. *Euſebius* mentions every Creature, even *Bavius*, named in *Virgil*, of whom he is as fond as his Brother Biſhop *Euſtachius* is of *Homer*.

[2] *Vell.* Lib. II. 117. *Suet.* Aug. § XXIII. *Dio.* Lib. LVI.

of Money. *Syria* had experienced his Covetouſneſs: — he went thither poor, and found the Province rich; but returned rich, and left the Province poor. — *Germany*, then deſtitute of all that might encourage Luxury or excite Cupidity, afforded him little Scope to ſatisfy this prevailing Paſſion; — but even there he plundered, as much as poſſible, a People as brave as they were poor, and to whom Exactions were doubly odious, becauſe they injured their ſlender Fortunes, and were an ignominious Badge of Servitude, inconſiſtent with their Glory.

Whilſt he thus irritated thoſe bold, rough, and intractable People, he took no Sort of Care to guard againſt their Reſentment; idly thinking to model, poliſh, and civilize, by Laws, a Nation which bid Defiance to the Force of Arms. With this View he treated *Germany* as a peaceable Province, taking his Circuits, keeping his High-days, and adminiſtring Juſtice with Pomp and Oſtentation: as if his Faſces and Lictors could have awed Men who hardly knew any other Law than that of the ſtrongeſt. The Bleſſings which emane from a well regulated State were quite unknown to them; — Sweets of which they had not even an Idea: — But, ſays *Florus* [3], in his almoſt poetic Style, grieved to ſee their Arms covered over with Ruſt, and their Horſes languiſhing in Inaction, they thought of nothing but revolting againſt a Government ſo little ſuited to their Inclinations. — *Varus*'s

[3] Lib. IV. 12.

Supineneſs gave them great Room to hope for Succeſs. — They wanted only a Chief to direct the Enterpriſe; and him they found completely in the Perſon of *Arminius*, a young Nobleman, deſcended from one of the firſt Families among the *Cheruſci*.

Arminius had every Qualification requiſite to conduct a Conſpiracy. Perſonally brave, indefatigably active, full of Life and Spirits, which ſparkled in his Eyes and Countenance; he was fertile in Reſources, dexterous, cunning, and knew how to feign or diſſemble as he pleaſed. Such a Man was by far an Over-match for *Varus*. His firſt Care was, to encourage and increaſe the natural Indolence of this Governor of the *Germans*; well knowing that he is ſooneſt overpowered who fears the leaſt, and that an imprudent Confidence often becomes the Source of endleſs Calamities. His Birth, his Rank, and his ſeeming Attachment to the *Romans*, in whoſe Armies he had ſerved with ſuch Diſtinction as to merit being made a *Roman* Citizen, and a Knight, procured him, at all Times, a free Acceſs to *Varus*. Improving theſe Openings, he ſoon grew familiar with him, commended his Ways of Thinking, extolled the Happineſs of *Germany*, then going to acquire, through his Means, a Knowledge of Law and Juſtice, by which Quarrels, before decided by Arms, would be ended peaceably; by which Barbariſm would be baniſhed, and Politeneſs introduced inſtead of the rude and ſavage Manners of an uncivilized People. To confirm theſe Speeches,

he employed ſome of his Countrymen, on whom he could depend, to pretend Suits againſt one another, to bring them before his Tribunal, and to receive his Deciſions with Thankfulneſs and Satisfaction. *Varus*, dazzled by theſe ſpecious Appearances, was weak enough to think that the People loved him, and looked upon himſelf as a Magiſtrate in the Midſt of his Fellow-citizens, rather than as a General in a dangerous Country, where too much Caution could not poſſibly be uſed.

In the mean Time *Arminius* formed his Plan to deſtroy the credulous *Varus* and his Legions. He had already made him weaken his Army, by ſending ſmall Detachments to various diſtant Places, where he had procured *Germans* to aſk for them under different Pretences; ſuch as to guard a Poſt, ſtop the Inroads of Robbers, and other ſimilar Inventions. — When a proper Time was come, the Revolt broke out, by *Arminius*'s ſecret Orders, in ſome of the moſt remote Diſtricts; and the few *Romans* who were diſperſed in them were immediately killed. *Varus* marched againſt the Rebels with three Legions, and *Arminius* remained behind, under Color of following him directly with a ſtrong Reinforcement. — His Troops were in Fact already aſſembled under their particular Leaders; but with a very different View from what he pretended. — He united them inſtantly into one Body, put himſelf at their Head, and, as he had projected, ſoon came up with *Varus* in a narrow Paſs, ſurrounded by Woods

and Mountains, between the Towns now called *Dietmelle* and *Horn*, in the County of *Lippe*, in the Territories of the then *Dulgibini*, a People who poſſeſſed all the Country from *Paderborn* to the *Weſer*. — This was the Place where he had all along intended to attack him.

Varus might ſtill have eſcaped, had he but vouchſafed to liſten to an Advice which came from ſo good a Hand, that it is inconceivable how he could ſlight it — *Segeſtes*, an illuſtrious *German*, and a Friend to *Rome*, of which he had been made a Citizen by *Auguſtus*, having diſcovered a Part at leaſt of *Arminius*'s Plot *, had more than once intimated it to *Varus;* and, on a late Occaſion, when they were all met together at a Feaſt, told him plainly that the Danger was near at Hand, and adviſed him that Moment to arreſt, himſelf, *Arminius*, and the chief Accomplices, to prevent the Blow, and afterwards to examine the Matter more thoroughly, in Order to diſtinguiſh the Innocent from the Guilty. — "But (ſays *Velleius*) it generally happens, that "God, when he intends to alter the Condition "of Men, perverts their Counſels; ſo that thoſe "who periſh have the additional Misfortune of "ſeeming to have deſerved their Fate, and of "being thought not leſs blamable than unfortunate." *Varus* unaccountably blind, paid no Regard to any Thing that *Segeſtes* had ſaid.

* *Tac.* Ann. Lib. I.

In the Night after this very Feaſt, where he had been ſo fairly warned, *Arminius* executed his Deſign. — On a ſudden, when the *Romans* leaſt expected it, they were furiouſly attacked by the Troops they had rejoiced with the Evening before, and thought their Friends and Allies. *Varus*'s Legions were compoſed of excellent Soldiers, Men who might juſtly be deemed the Flower of the *Roman* Army, for Goodneſs of Diſcipline, Bravery, and Experience in War. — But what can Valor do againſt Obſtacles ſuperior to all human Power? againſt Surpriſe, the Dead of Night, an unknown Country, Mountains, Foreſts, Bogs, and a dreadful Tempeſt which happened at the ſame Time? — The *Romans*, however, reſiſted with Courage, and, after a conſiderable Loſs, being forced at Length to abandon their Camp, of which the *Germans* had got Poſſeſſion, retreated to an Eminence, where they began to intrench themſelves. The Conquerors purſued, attacked them with redoubled Fury, — *Varus* was wounded, and, ſeeing no Hopes left, fell upon his own Sword; — imitating the Example of his Father, who made one of his Freedmen kill him after the Battle of *Philippi*; and that of his Grandfather, who died in the ſame Manner in *Spain*.

The Death of their General entirely diſheartened the *Romans*, reduced to a ſmall Number, fatigued by the Difficulties of the Ground, and ſurrounded on all Sides by their treacherous Foes, whoſe Purſuit they could not poſſibly expect to eſcape,

even if they could have forced a Paſſage through them; ſome, like *Varus*, ended their own Lives, and others, fighting with the Obſtinacy of Men driven to Deſpair, choſe rather to die by the Hand of the Enemy; — but the greater Part, unable to reſiſt ſuch complicated Woes, and encouraged by the Example of an Officer of Diſtinction, named *Ceionius*, laid down their Arms, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion. — *Numonius Vala*, *Varus*'s Lieutenant, attempted to ſave himſelf with the Cavalry; but was purſued, overtaken, and killed with all his Men.

Two Legions left in the old Camp (ſituated where the Town of *Flotow* now ſtands), from which *Varus* ſet out in Order to march againſt the pretended Rebels, muſt have undergone the ſame Fate, had not *Aſprænas*, *Varus*'s Nephew and Lieutenant, marched them out of the Enemy's Country with great Expedition, the Moment he was informed of his Uncle's Misfortune. He prudently led them directly to the Winter-Quarters of the *Romans* in *Lower Germany*, and thereby happily kept in Order the People on that Side of the *Rhine*, whoſe Fidelity began to waver. — This well-judged Retreat would have done him ſignal Honor, as Things were circumſtanced, if he had not ſullied it by a mean and unjuſt Avarice. — *Velleius* ſays, he was accuſed of enriching himſelf with the Spoils of the Unfortunate, by appropriating to his own Uſe all the Baggage which had been left in the old Camp by *Varus*'s three murdered Legions.

Arminius made as bad an Uſe of his Victory, as it was poſſible for an inſolent Barbarian to do. Seating himſelf upon a Tribunal erected for the Purpoſe, he ordered the *Roman* Priſoners to be brought before him, loaded with Chains, and condemned them all to die. The Tribunes and Centurions were ſacrificed, as Victims, upon Altars ſet up in the Woods, and the common Soldiers were crucified or hanged. — *Cælius Caldus*, a young *Roman* of illuſtrious Birth, ſeeing for what End he was reſerved, ſtretched out his Chain, and, with a furious Blow, daſhed out his own Brains. — Above all, the *Germans* took a cruel Pleaſure in tormenting thoſe who had been any Way employed or concerned in *Varus*'s odious Juriſdiction over them. — They put out their Eyes, and cut off their Hands. — One had his Tongue pulled out, and his Mouth ſewed up; after which the Barbarian who performed the horrid Deed, holding the Tongue in his Hand, cried out to him, "Ceaſe thy Hiſſing, Viper!" — *Varus*'s Body was hid and buried by the Soldiers, to ſcreen it from the Inſults of the Barbarians; — but it was found, taken up, and treated with the utmoſt Ignominy; and when it was thought to have been long enough the inhuman Sport and Mockery, not only of the lower Claſs, but even of ſome of their Chiefs, among whom was a Nephew of *Segeſtes*, the Head was cut off and ſent to *Maroboduus*, who conveyed it to *Rome*, where it was interred [5].

[5] *Tacit.* Ann. Lib. I.

The Standards of the Legions, with two of their Eagles, fell into the Enemy's Hands; and thoſe Objects of religious Veneration among the *Romans* were treated with the greateſt Contumely and Outrage by *Arminius*. The third Eagle was ſaved by the Courage and Preſence of Mind of him who bore it. — Seeing that all was irrecoverably loſt, he ſnatched it from the Top of the Pike it was ſupported by, tucked it under his Belt, fled into a Bog, and from thence fortunately eſcaped [6].

The *Germans* left the Field of Battle ſtrewed with the dead Bodies of Men and Horſes, intermixed with broken Swords, Spears, and Javelins; whilſt a great Number of Heads ſtuck upon Trunks of Trees, and the Inſtruments they had made Uſe of to torture and put to Death their wretched Priſoners, remained there as horrid Trophies of their bloody Victory [7].

The Grief and Conſternation into which this dreadful Diſaſter threw every Inhabitant of *Rome*, were, as I ſaid before, inexpreſſibly great. *Auguſtus* himſelf ſet the Example, and perhaps carried it too far: — not ſufficiently attending to the Majeſty of his Rank, or the Obligation a Prince is under to comfort his People in Times of Calamity, by a ſerene and compoſed Countenance, which, without diſſembling his Griefs, may ſhow that he does not think them paſt all

[6] *Tac. Flor.*

[7] *Tac.* ubi ſupra.

Remedy. He not only put on Mourning, and let his Beard and Hair grow, but would often cry out, in a perfect Agony, "Restore my Legions, "*Varus*." — But I cannot believe what *Suetonius* adds[s], that he carried Things to such Excess of Phrensy, as to beat his Head against the Walls; though it is certain that, as long as he lived, the Day of *Varus*'s Defeat was to him a Day of annual Sorrow.

The Terror of the *Romans* was, at first, equal to their Grief[t]. They imagined the *Germans* ready to cross the *Rhine*, and over-run *Gaul*, or even to penetrate into *Italy* and lay Siege to *Rome*. *Augustus* appointed an extraordinary Guard in the City, and broke his own Company of *German* Guards. — But their Fears vanished by Degrees: they learnt that *Gaul* continued in a State of Peace; that the Borders of the *Rhine* on their Side were well defended; and that the Enemy had not attempted any Thing since their Victory, except the Siege of the Fortress of *Aliso*[x], the Garrison of which, after making a brave Defence, sallied out Sword in Hand, when they found that the Place was no longer tenable, and bravely opened themselves a Passage to join the *Roman* Legions. Winter also drew near (for *Varus*'s Defeat happened towards the End of the Year), and of Necessity brought on a Suspension of Arms,

[s] *Suet.* Aug. § XXIII.
[t] *Dio* & *Suet.*
[x] Built by *Drusus*, near the River formerly called *Aliso*, now the *Alm*, which falls into the *Lippe*.

The *Romans* then had Time to conſider more fully how they might beſt repair the Loſs they had ſuſtained in *Germany*. To this End they reſolved to ſend freſh Troops to the *Rhine:* — But the Difficulty was, how to raiſe them; for though the People had by this Time got the better of their Apprehenſions of an Invaſion; yet the dreadful Impreſſion of the Valor and Fierceneſs of the *Germans* ſtill remained, and none would inliſt to go and attack thoſe formidable Enemies in their own Country. *Auguſtus* was forced to have Recourſe to Severity; even ſo far as to put to Death ſome of the moſt ſtubborn, to affix Marks of Infamy on others, and to confiſcate their Effects.

The Choice of a General was the eaſieſt Part. —He could not pitch on any other than *Tiberius*; nor was any one fitter for ſo difficult and dangerous a War. He likewiſe made Uſe of Religion as a Reſource; and vowed the *Great Games*, with this remarkable Clauſe, uſed before in the *Cimbrian* War, and in that of the Allies; *Provided the Republic be in a better Situation.*

Such was the End of this Year, towards the Cloſe of which, *Auguſtus*, to complete his Griefs, was forced to treat his Grand-daughter *Julia* with a Rigor which hurt him to the Soul.

The *younger Julia*, of whom I now ſpeak, was very beautiful: but joining her Mother's Example to the ſame Inclinations, ſhe became rather more infamous; — and *Auguſtus*, irritated by the former Scandal, had leſs Patience now. — She was married to *L. Emilius Paulus* (Son of the Triumvir

Lepidus's Brother *Emilius Paulus*) who, from being *Auguſtus*'s Friend and Companion in the *Sicilian* War, conſpired againſt him with *Plautius Rufus*[2], or nearly about the ſame Time as *Cinna*. — To this Huſband ſhe bore a Daughter, *Emilia Lepida*, who was married very young, and ſoon divorced, by *Claudius*, (afterwards Emperor) upon her Parents Miſbehaviour; after which he married *Meſſalina*, his Couſin *Domitia*'s Daughter by *Meſſala Barbatus*. — But *D. Silanus*, whom I take to have been a Son of *Servilia*, pleaſed *Julia* better than her Huſband. — Whether there was any Connection between him and the unfortunate *Ovid*, is hard to tell: but all the Three were baniſhed at the ſame Time. — *Julia* was ſent to the little Iſland *Trimetus*, upon the *Apulian* Coaſt, where ſhe died twenty Years after. — She was ſupported in her Exile by *Livia*, who uſed firſt to *ruin* her Huſband's Children *in private*, and then aſſiſt them *openly*, *to ſhow her Clemency*. — Her Huſband, the Conſpirator, ſeems to have killed himſelf.

Neither *Silanus* nor *Ovid* were baniſhed by Law, or attainted by any Act of the Senate; but forbid the Prince's Palace, — which was equal to a *Lettre de Cachet*. For this Reaſon the former returned without any formal Pardon; and had *Ovid* been happy in as great Friends, for *Silanus*'s Brother was among the Chief of the Senate[3], he might have done the ſame. — His Offence, though

[2] *Suet.* Aug. § XIX.

[3] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. III.

notorious then [4], is ſtill a Myſtery to us. He commonly calls it a Miſtake, a Chance, a Thing done unwittingly, through Simplicity: — and in another Place, he ſays it was either Fear or a Miſtake [5].— It looks as if he had met with *Julia* in Maſque, upon one of her Rambles, and that his Behaviour, or rather that of his Companions and Servants, and their Babbling afterwards, had drawn upon him the Diſpleaſure of *Auguſtus* [6]. — Though all his Apologies are ſo many Accuſations of *Auguſtus*, or of his Family, as if their Deeds would not bear being ſeen; yet he mentions that *ſecret Cauſe* ſo often, even in his poetical Petitions for Liberty to return, that it cannot have been any Thing perſonal to *Auguſtus* (from whom, had it touched him but obliquely, he would have kept it the fartheſt in the World), or to any of his Family, beyond what was known to every one, as was the Baniſhment of his Graud-daughter — Were it only the Time of *Ovid*'s Exile, the ſame with that of the younger *Julia*, this Circumſtance alone evinces that he was not diſgraced for any Intrigue with *Julia* the Mother, or for having ſeen criminal

[4] Cauſa meæ *Cunctis* nimium quoque nota ruinæ,
Judicio non eſt teſtificanda meo.
Triſt. L. IV. x. El. v. 99.

[5] Aut timor, aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.
Lib. IV. El. iv. v. 39.

[6] Inſcia quod *Crimen* viderunt lumina, plector:
Peccatumque oculos eſt habuiſſe meum.
Non equidem totam poſſum defendere culpam:
Sed partem noſtri Criminis *Error* habet.
Lib. III. v. v. 49.

Familiarities

Familiarities between *Auguſtus* and his Daughter, as ſome have maliciouſly ſuggeſted.

What may have given Riſe to the Story of *Auguſtus*'s too great Intimacy with his own Daughter, is an extravagant Whim of his Great-grandſon *Caligula*, who took it into his Head, that his Relation to *Agrippa* diſhonored his Blood, and gave out that his Mother *Agrippina* was not *Agrippa*'s Daughter, but the Fruit of an inceſtuous Commerce between *Auguſtus* and *Julia*. — But that Prince was too wild to be believed in any Thing: much leſs in a Matter where his own Life wanted an Example which concerned *Auguſtus*, whom he liked to blacken. — Whether this was originally a Fiction of *Caligula*'s own, or whether there was any ſuch Rumor whilſt *Auguſtus* lived, I cannot tell.

Ovid was thrice married. His firſt Wife was a worthleſs Creature, obtruded on him while he was yet a Boy. His ſecond was of a good Family, but coquettiſh, and ſoon divorced. The third, a Widow, who had been married to one *Perillus*, and had a Daughter by him (married to one *Suillus*), he loved and honored to the laſt. — He was by no Means a *Rake:* nor were his Brother-Poets *Propertius* and *Tibullus*. They were real *Lovers*, paſſionately fond of one Miſtreſs at a Time: — a Pleaſure to which a *Rake*, in the common Acceptation of the Word, has no Pretenſion.

Whatever was the real Cauſe of *Ovid*'s Baniſhment, his writing the *Art of Love*, which ſeemed

to countenance Adultery, was the Pretence. — But it was a mere Pretence: for it had long been publiſhed, and *Ovid* had paſſed the Scrutiny often before *Auguſtus* at the Review of the *Roman* Knights after that Publication, without Reproof. — But *Auguſtus* was not to be ſpoken to upon that Head. He was incenſed beyond Patience at his own Daughter, and this repeated Diſgrace wrought him to the greateſt Fury. — The poor Poet was baniſhed to *Tomi* in *Scythia*, upon the Borders of the *Euxine* Sea.

The Circumſtances of Things, and of the Times, rendered his Fate doubly unfortunate. — I make no Doubt but that he has ſtumbled upon *Julia* by Chance, while ſhe was engaged in ſome Frolic, and in Diſguiſe; on which Occaſion he would not want an Invitation to take Part, whatever it was. — She has followed her Mother's Example; walked the Streets like a common Woman, and probably picked up *Ovid*. — At firſt, he has not known the high Quality of the Perſon with whom he was engaging; and coming afterwards to know it, he had not, it ſeems, the Courage to retreat. — His Perſon muſt have been agreeable to her; for their Intercourſe was not ended at once, but laſted ſome Time. — He tells us that his Friend's (*Meſſalinus*'s) Advice would have prevented the bad Conſequences of it, as he told him all his other Secrets, he had alſo told him this.

The general Morals were become extremely diſſolute. — Gallantry, to give it a ſoft Name, was

the Buſineſs not only of the young and gay; but the idle and luxurious of riper Years practiſed it in the moſt criminal Shapes. — They had great Patterns before their Eyes. — *Julius Cæſar* had grown bald in Sin[7]: — his Favorites *Mamurra*, *Dolabella*, *Malius*, *Salluſt*, and *Antony*: — his Succeſſor the young *Cæſar*, *Plancus*, *Cupiennius*, *Dellius*, were all notoriouſly guilty. — In this general Corruption, a lively young Fellow, who felt that he had Genius, and ſaw himſelf a Favorite among the Fair, was not contented, like his more temperate Friends *Tibullus* and *Propertius*, to ſing the Joys and Griefs, the fond Wiſhes and frequent Diſappointments, of a tender Paſſion between two Lovers: — but he muſt needs reduce Gallantry to an Art, profeſs himſelf a Maſter, and, in a very poliſhed and elaborate Poem, give the moſt pernicious Precepts how to ſeduce Innocence, and bring on univerſal Corruption. In ſhort, in his *Art of Love*, *Ovid* flies in the Face of Virtue, and openly eſpouſes the Cauſe of Vice and Immorality. — Though the Rakes about Court, both young and old, might ſmile and approve; yet there were many of the great and powerful, the virtuous *Meſſala*, the ſevere *Pollio*, the ſtern *Lollius*, who took deep Offence at the Work, and conceived a very bad Opinion of the Author. He was made

[7] Ac ne cui dubium omnino ſit, & impudicitiæ eum, & adulteriorum flagraſſe infamiâ, *Curio* pater, quadam eum Oratione *Omnium Mulierum Virum, & omnium virorum mulierem* appellat. *Sueton.* in Jul. § LII.

ſenſible of the infinite Hurt he had done himſelf by that lewd Performance; —— and in his after Misfortunes gave it as the firſt Cauſe of them, calling it his *fooliſh Art of Love*[8]. But, with his uſual Acuteneſs, he deviſes the common Excuſe for obſcene Writing, uſed before him by *Catullus*[9], and after him by *Martial*[1].

It was to *Fabius Maximus*, *Auguſtus*'s laſt favorite Miniſter, that the unhappy *Ovid* wrote ſo many Letters from his Place of Baniſhment, begging him to intercede for him with the Prince. — *Fabius* was himſelf an Author, and uſed to read his Writings to *Ovid*, as to a Man of Letters. His Lady, *Marcia*, made a Companion of *Ovid*'s laſt Wife, who had been married out of the *Fabian* Family, to which ſhe was related. They had been Friends from their Infancy. She ſeems to have had a very fair Reputation, and had been before a Favorite of *Cæſar*'s Aunt, probably *Marcia*'s Mother (certainly a Siſter of *Atia*'s). *Fabius*'s Father, a Man of great Eloquence, had encouraged *Ovid* to publiſh his Poems. — Upon the News that he was fallen under the Prince's Diſpleaſure, *Fabius* ſent for him, and inquired How it was? The ingenious Poet could not deny it: but after ſome ſtammering Words and incoherent Sentences, burſt into Tears before his great Friend; and told him all. Soon after, *Fabius* ſent him a Note, giving him Hopes,

[8] Stultam conſcripſimus Artem.

[9] Vita verecunda eſt, Muſa jocoſa mihi.

[1] Laſciva eſt nobis pagina, vita proba.

that as his Crime had been occaſioned by a Miſtake, *Auguſtus* might be pacified. He was the laſt Man that this illuſtrious Exile waited on before his Departure, when the ſame Hopes were again renewed, which yet never had any Effect.

Ovid, in ſeveral Parts of his Poetry, has given Proof that he was capable of very lofty Strains. — His grand, though unfiniſhed Work, *The Metamorphoſes*, is interſperſed with Touches of the trueſt Sublime. — But by a thouſand other Inſtances it appears, that his *Genius* was rather ſoft than elevated; and that when he gives a Looſe to his natural Bent, though his Language be pure, a certain *Languor* in Thought, and Drawling of Expreſſion, betrays the Effeminacy of the Poet.

Tiberius ſet out for *Germany* in the Spring of the Year DCCLXI, and behaved there in ſuch a Manner as anſwered perfectly to his great Reputation in Arms. Being ſenſible that the chief Cauſe of *Varus*'s Misfortune was owing to the Raſhneſs and Negligence of that imprudent General, he wiſely judged it incumbent on him to be doubly vigilant and cautious [2]. His Cuſtom had hitherto been, to follow his own Opinion, without conſulting any one: — but he now took a different Method, held frequent Councils, and did nothing till he had firſt adviſed with his principal Officers. To prevent Luxury from creeping into the Army, when he was preparing to croſs the *Rhine*, he ſettled the Number and Nature of

[2] *Suet.* Tib. § XVIII. XIX.

the Servants and Equipages which each might have, according to his Rank; and that he might be ſure his Orders were ſtrictly obſerved, he ſtood by the River's Side while the Troops paſſed over, and perſonally examined every Thing. He himſelf ſet an Example of that ſtrict Simplicity which he preſcribed to others: for whilſt he was beyond the *Rhine*, he never dined or ſupped otherwiſe than ſeated upon the Ground, and he often paſſed the Night without a Tent. Every Day, he gave his Orders regularly in Writing for the next Day; with an expreſs Injunction, that whoever wanted to have any Part of them explained, ſhould apply directly to him, at all Hours of the Day or Night: in ſhort, his Diſcipline was exact, and ſtrictly enforced; he revived certain old military Puniſhments, which had been diſuſed for a Time; and branded the Commander of a Legion with Ignominy, for having ſent ſome of his Soldiers to hunt on the other Side of the *Rhine* with one of his Freedmen.

An Army ſo well governed, had no Need to fear being ſurpriſed by the Enemy. *Tiberius*'s Orders were only to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of the *Rhine*: — but rightly judging that, in Order to hinder the *Germans* from invading *Gaul*, it was neceſſary to carry the War into their own Country, he entered it with a ſtrong Force, marched on with all the Precaution that Prudence could ſuggeſt, and ravaged every Thing before him. Having thus reſtored the Reputation of the *Roman* Arms, he repaſſed the *Rhine* without any Loſs, and con-

ducted his Legions back to their Winter-quarters [3].

Early the next Year, he croſſed the *Rhine* again accompanied by *Germanicus*, and again laid waſte the Territories of the *Germans*, who confeſſed themſelves conquered, by not daring to make Head againſt him, *Arminius* was thoroughly ſenſible that he had not now a *Varus* to deal with.

Tiberius kept the Field as long as the Seaſon would permit: and after having celebrated Games there in Honor of the Emperor's Birth-day, as quietly as if he had been among his Friends, he returned to *Gaul*; ſure of having fulfilled the Intentions of *Auguſtus*, who never deſired to extend his Dominions, on that Side, farther than the *Rhine*, which he looked upon as a natural Barrier between the *Roman* Empire and the ſavage Nations on the other Side of that River.

A Letter, which *Suetonius* has recorded, ſhows how much *Auguſtus* was ſatisfied with *Tiberius*'s Conduct on this Occaſion: "My dear *Tiberius*, ſays that Emperor to him, "I think no one could "have acted more prudently than you have done, "amid ſo many Difficulties, and while ſuch a "general Relaxation prevails among the Troops. "All who have ſerved under you, do you this "Juſtice, and apply to you what *Ennius* ſaid of "the illuſtrious *Fabius*; That the Vigilance of one "Man has reſtored the Affairs of the Common-"wealth [4]."

[3] *Vell.* Lib. II. *Dio.*

[4] Unus homo nobis vigilando reſtituit rem.

Auguſtus, as I have already ſaid, diſliked *Tiberius* at firſt: but, charmed with his important Services, he ſeems at laſt to have had a ſincere Friendſhip for him. — He could not otherwiſe have uſed thoſe very endearing Expreſſions mentioned by *Suetonius* [5]. "Whether, ſaid he, "I "am buſied with Affairs which require ſerious "Thought, or vexed by diſagreeable Events, I "regret the Abſence of my dear *Tiberius*, and "call to Mind what, *Homer* makes *Diomedes* ſay "of *Ulyſſes*: *With ſuch a Second I ſhould hope to* "*eſcape, even from amidſt a Conflagration; for he is* "*a Man of exquiſite Prudence*". — When I hear how "you are worn out with inceſſant Fatigue, may "I periſh, if it does not make me ſhudder. I "beg of you to take Care of yourſelf, leſt you "ſhould fall ſick, your Mother die of Grief, and "the *Romans* be in Danger of loſing their Empire. "— It is of little Conſequence whether I am well "or ill, provided you be well. — I beſeech the "Gods to ſpare you for our Sakes, and to grant "you now and always a perfect State of Health, "if they have not taken Averſion to the *Roman* "People."

His Expreſſions of Regard were not confined to Words. — Deeds alſo proved his Eſteem for, and Confidence in, *Tiberius*: — for he made him almoſt

[5] Ibid. *Suet.* Tib. § XXI.

[6] Τάτθ' ἐσπομένοιο, καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ἄμφω νοσφήσαιμεν, ἐπὲι περὶ ὄιδε νοῆσαι.

Iliad. X.

his Equal, — his Colleague; and obtained a Decree of the Senate, confirmed by the People, enacting, that *Tiberius* ſhould from thenceforth have in all the Provinces of the Emperor's Department, and particularly in the Army, the ſame Authority as *Auguſtus* himſelf[7]. — With this Addition of Power and Dignity he returned to *Rome*, to celebrate the Triumph which had been decreed him long before, for his Conqueſt of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*; but which, as I obſerved, had been poſtponed on Account of *Varus*'s Diſaſter.

Nothing could exceed the pompous Magnificence of this Triumph, which was celebrated in the Beginning of the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIII, *Germanicus Cæſar* and *Fonteius Capito* being Conſuls. The principal Chiefs of the vanquiſhed Nations appeared in Chains; and the Conqueror's Lieutenants, who, at his Requeſt, had obtained the Ornaments of Triumphers, accompanied their General, clothed in thoſe ſplendid Rewards of their Services. *Auguſtus* preſided over the Ceremony, ſeated, probably, upon the Tribunal for Harangues; and when *Tiberius* reached the *Forum*, before he turned toward the *Capitol*, he deſcended from his Car, kneeled down before his Father, and paid Homage to him for all his Glory. — He afterwards treated the People at a thouſand Tables, and gave them three hundred Seſterces (48 Shillings) a Piece.

[7] *Vell.* Lib. II. *Sueton.* Tib. XXI. *Tac.* Annal. Lib. I.

The *Germans* remained perfectly quiet, from this Time till the Death of *Auguſtus*; — but, notwithſtanding that, the *Romans* ſtill continued to keep a great Force upon the *Rhine*. Eight Legions [a], divided into two Armies, occupied the two Provinces of *Belgic Gaul*, called the *Upper* and *Lower Germany*. *Germanicus*, then about twenty-eight Years of Age, at the Expiration of his Conſulſhip received the Command of all theſe Forces, the greateſt that were then aſſembled in any one Part of the Empire; — nor was leſs requiſite, to maintain on one Hand the Peace and Quiet of *Gaul*, and, on the other, to awe the *Germans*. — The young Prince began the Functions of his important Truſt, by numbering the *Gauls*, and taking an Account of their Poſſeſſions; an Office in which he was actually engaged when *Auguſtus* died.

But before I ſpeak of the Death of this firſt Emperor of the *Romans*, with which theſe *Memoirs* will end, it may not be amiſs juſt to mention here ſome Tranſactions of the latter Part of his Reign, which could not be ſo well interwoven with the preceding Accounts of Wars.

Though his Conſtitution was always naturally tender, yet, by taking Care of it, and particularly by his great Sobriety, he preſerved Strength enough to the End of his Days, not to linger out an inactive old Age. — He allowed himſelf ſome Relaxation, from Time to Time; but never was quite idle.

[a] *Tacit.* Annal. Lib. I. & IV.

At the Age of ſeventy, he began not to attend the Meetings of the Senate ſo aſſiduouſly as before; but would let that Aſſembly determine many, though, I believe, not important Affairs, in his Abſence. — Four Years after this, he laid aſide the troubleſome Ceremonial of having numerous Levees, and giving public Dinners. — He likewiſe deſired the Senators not to take any longer the Trouble of going to pay their Compliments to him at his Palace, and to excuſe his not meeting them when they dined in a Body: — and in the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIV, in the Month of *September*, when he entered into the ſeventy-fifth Year of his Age, being able to go but ſeldom to the Senate-houſe, he cauſed his Privy Council to be inveſted with the full Authority of the whole Senate.

In the Beginning of his Adminiſtration he had fifteen Counſellors, choſen from among the Senators, and changed every ſix Months. That Council decided only Matters which required great Diſpatch, or ſuch as, if of greater Moment, were to be afterwards laid before the whole Senate. — Now he ſelected twenty Counſellors inſtead of the former fifteen, and theſe were to ſerve a Year. — But the eſſential Part of the Change made on this Occaſion, was the Decree of the Senate, which expreſsly ordained, That whatever ſhould be done or enacted by *Auguſtus*, aſſiſted by *Tiberius*, the two Conſuls, his two Grand-ſons *Germanicus* and *Druſus*, and the Council of twenty, ſhould have the ſame Force as if done or enacted by the

unanimous Voice of the Senate. — He had, in Fact, exerciſed the ſame Authority before; — but was glad to gloſs it over with the ſpecious Appearance of a legal Power. — From this Time, he governed the Empire without hardly ſtirring from his Room, or, frequently, even from his Bed.

By this Decree, even the remaining Shadow of the awful Prerogatives of that once inexpreſſibly Auguſt Aſſembly, *The Senate of Rome*, was totally annihilated. — The long equally empty *Appearance* of the *Liberty of the People* had been as effectually taken away in the Year of *Rome* DCCLVIII, when, under Pretence of preventing the Feuds and Quarrels which aroſe ſometimes at the Elections of Magiſtrates, and happened particularly then, *Auguſtus* took upon himſelf to nominate to all the Offices; and in the following Years he recommended to the People, or, in other Words, obtruded upon them ſuch as he choſe to have employed; juſt as the Dictator *Cæſar* had done [9].

Auguſtus's Care, to reform Abuſes, was ever vigilant and indefatigable. Above all, he now ſtrove again to aboliſh Celibacy, which he had

[9] *Auguſtus* gave the Privileges of the Nobles to the Knights; — *Tiberius* took the Right of Election from the Commons, and gave it to the Senate; — *Claudius* made every Word of his Freedmen a Law. That is, the Princes deſpiſed the ancient Forms of the Republic, and the Diſtribution of Power and Privileges which had long prevailed, and transferred and changed them as it facilitated their own Rule; or, if weak Men, as their Favorites pleaſed.

attacked before ſeveral Times; but which, in Spite of his Orders, ſtill prevailed in *Rome*. — His Laws, in this Reſpect, were loudly murmured at; and, in the Year DCCLX, at a public Entertainment, where the Emperor was preſent, the *Roman* Knights perſonally complained to him of the Severity of the Penalties he had inflicted upon Celibacy, and, with Clamor, preſſed him to repeal them. — To make theſe Gentry aſhamed of their Requeſt, he immediately ordered *Germanicus*'s Children to be brought to him [1]. — They were pretty numerous, though the Prince was then but in his twenty-fourth Year. — *Auguſtus* taking ſome of them in his Arms, and ſetting others upon their Father's Knees, ſhowed them to the Knights, and exhorted every one preſent to follow that laudable Example [2].

A little While after this, he ordered all the Knights to appear before him, divided into two Bodies; thoſe that were married on one Side, and

Suet. Aug. § XXXIV.

[2] Some Years before this, paſſing through the Streets with his uſual Affability, he ſaw ſome of the rich Provincials, probably from the Eaſtern Parts of the Empire, carrying (like the effeminate *Henry* III. of *France*) Puppies and Monkeys in their Boſoms, and careſſing them as they went along. Shocked to ſee the Affection and Care which is due to Mankind beſtowed on Brutes, he ſtopped a little, and aſked this very ſignificant Queſtion, "Pray, Gentlemen, "do the Women in your Country bring forth any "Children?"

Plut. in Pericl.

ſuch as were unmarried on the other; ſeeing the latter much more numerous than the former, he could not refrain from Indignation. Firſt, he beſtowed high Praiſes upon thoſe who, by an honorable Marriage, were bringing up Children for the Republic; and then, turning toward the Bachelors, "If (ſaid he to theſe, with great "Warmth) you pretend to follow the Example "of the *Veſtals*, live like them, and ſubject your-"ſelves to the ſame Puniſhment if you are not as "ſtrictly chaſte." — But this did not ſuit thoſe Gentry, who had no Diſlike to Marriage but on Account of the Trouble of Domeſtic Affairs, and the Education of Children; and liked to remain ſingle, that they might indulge their Paſſions without Control.

In DCCLXII, he revived the Law againſt Diviners and Aſtrologers, thoſe public Peſts, who, by deceitful Hopes and falſe Expectations, excite the Cupidity of credulous Men, and thereby ſpread Trouble and Confuſion in the State and in private Families; and, at the ſame Time, ſtill more effectually, to diſſuade the People from recurring to them, by ſhowing how little he himſelf feared their Predictions, or valued their pretended Art, he publiſhed or poſted up in *Rome* the *Theme* of his own Nativity; that is to ſay, a State of the Poſition of the Stars at the Inſtant of his Birth. — He likewiſe enforced the penal Laws againſt the Authors of defamatory Libels; another Set of Wretches, infinitely noxious to Society. — The famous *Caſſius Severus*, Chief of this malevolent

ſnarling Race, was now baniſhed with Infamy. The ſcandalous Abuſe which he made of his Wit, Talents, and Command of Language, richly deſerved even a more exemplary Puniſhment; though he took Care to increaſe the Hardſhips of this under *Tiberius*, by ſtill continuing to vent the Overflowings of his Gall, even in his Exile. *Auguſtus* baniſhed him to *Crete*; but *Tiberius* removed him to the more deſert Iſle of *Seriphos*, where he lived and grew old in the utmoſt Miſery. — A ſatyrical Turn is a Vice which very few can ever conquer thoroughly.

I know not whether *Auguſtus* ſhould be commended or blamed for the additional Rigor which he now inflicted upon baniſhed Perſons. — Under the Republican Government, thoſe who were interdicted Fire and Water were at Liberty to retire to whatever Place they pleaſed. — *Auguſtus* had already introduced the Cuſtom of fixing them ſometimes to a particular Diſtrict, — but being informed that ſeveral Exiles made their Puniſhment ſit very eaſy, either by going to ſome Diſtance from the Place allotted them, or by good Living and other Comforts of Life; he cauſed it to be enacted, that, for the future, all ſuch as ſhould be interdicted Fire and Water, ſhould be tranſported to Iſlands at leaſt fifty Miles diſtant from the Continent; and that no Perſon, under Sentence of Baniſhment, ſhould have more than twenty Slaves, or remain poſſeſſed of more than the Value of five hundred thouſand Seſterces (about *l.* 4000). — The Iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Cos*, *Leſbos*, and *Sardinia*,

though not at the Diſtance preſcribed by this Law, were, however, uſed as Places of Exile. — *Dion Caſſius* ſays [3], he could not tell why theſe Exceptions were made. — Perhaps the Emperor might like to reſerve to himſelf, even by the Law, a Power to mitigate the Fate of ſuch Exiles as he ſhould chuſe to favor.

A juſt and wiſe Regulation, well calculated for the Benefit of all the Provinces, was that which *Auguſtus* made about this Time, in Regard to the Encomiums which their Governors uſed to obtain from the People under them. After oppreſſing, robbing, and plundering them, they would often either extort by new Vexations, Decrees of Thanks and Approbation, or ſtrive to gain them by a culpable Indulgence; and theſe Certificates of good Behaviour were a Means of Defence to the Guilty, in Caſe they were afterwards accuſed of Mal-adminiſtration. — *Auguſtus*, who had the Happineſs of his Subjects, and the Honor of the Empire really at Heart, to ſtop this dangerous Abuſe, by which Iniquity was countenanced, Criminals were ſheltered, and the Majeſty of Government was diſgraced, forbad all Cities and Provinces to paſs any Act or Decree in Favor of the *Roman* Magiſtrates, till ſixty Days after the final Expiration of their Power.

Among the many Abuſes which this Emperor labored to extirpate, there was one to which he thought himſelf obliged to give Way. He had

[3] Lib. LVI.

forbid

forbid the *Roman* Knights to fight as Gladiators; — but they were ſo ſtrongly bent upon thoſe horrid Combats, that even the Ignominy affixed to them by the Laws was deſpiſed *Auguſtus* therefore took off the Prohibition, in Hopes that a few Examples of bloody Deaths might have more Effect than the Fear of Shame. — But he was miſtaken. — To give a Looſe to Vice, is a bad Way of preventing it. — The Crowds of Spectators drawn together by illuſtrious Names, the Authority of the Magiſtrates who gave thoſe Games, and the Prince's Conſent, or at leaſt Connivance, were Circumſtances which increaſed and perpetuated the Evil to ſuch a Degree, that, under ſome of the ſucceeding Emperors, not only Knights, but Senators, and even *Women* of Diſtinction, diſdaining both the Infamy and the Danger attending thoſe inhuman Fights, became ſhameful Actors in them.

L. Munatius Plancus and *C. Silius* were Conſuls for the Year of *Rome* DCCLXIV, in which *Auguſtus* was again continued in the Imperial Power for ten Years longer; the laſt Prorogation being to expire with this Year. He likewiſe cauſed *Tiberius* to be continued in the Tribunician Power, and treated him in all Reſpects as the Perſon he deſigned for his Heir. The Year before, recommending *Germanicus* to the Senate, he at the ſame Time recommended the Senate itſelf to *Tiberius*, as to the future Head of the Empire. He made him take Precedency of the Conſuls, in the Senate, in the Council, and upon all Occa-

ſions, ſhared with him the Functions of Cenſor; and they jointly finiſhed the Numbering of the *Roman* People, who amounted to four Millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Citizens [4].

Tiberius's Son, *Druſus*, was alſo promoted by *Auguſtus*. He had been Queſtor in 762, though then five Yēars under the legal Age; and this Year he was appointed Conſul, to enter upon the Functions of that Office three Years after, without going through the intermediate Gradations of Edile and Pretor. — *Germanicus* had enjoyed the ſame Prerogatives. — Thus *Auguſtus*, by heaping Honors upon *Tiberius* and his Children, eſtabliſhed the Rights and Power of his intended Succeſſor upon a firm Foundation. — He did it juſt in Time; for he died the next Year, when two of his Relations, *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, were Conſuls.

Auguſtus's Age and Infirmities had made the *Romans* very thoughtful for ſome Time paſt; — but their Ideas were widely different [5]. Some flattered themſelves with a chimerical Hope of ſeeing the old Republican Liberty reſtored; — many dreaded a Civil War, which others longed for; — and the greater Number were very buſy about the Characters and Diſpoſitions of the Maſters they were likely to have.

The naturally ſtern and ſavage Temper of *Agrippa Poſthumus*, whom they firſt thought of,

[4] *Lapis Ancyr.*

[5] *Tacit.* Ann. Lib. I.

as neareſt of Kin to the Emperor, whoſe Grandſon he was, had been infinitely ſoured and exaſperated by the Ignominy of Exile [6]; nor was he either in Age or Experience equal to the Weight of Empire. — *Tiberius* had arrived at Fulneſs of Years, for he was paſt fifty, and had given Proofs of his Capacity for War, but they feared in him the ſtubborn Pride entailed upon the *Claudian* Race, and obſerved, that many Indications of Cruelty had already eſcaped him, in Spite of all his Endeavours to diſguiſe it; — that he had been trained up, from his early Infancy, in a reigning Houſe, and had, from his Youth, been accuſtomed to accumulated Power and Honors, Conſulſhips and Triumphs; — that, during the ſeveral Years of his Abode at *Rhodes*, where a real Baniſhment was maſked under the ſpecious Name of voluntary Retirement, his ſiniſter Thoughts were wholly bent upon meditating future Revenge, ſtudying the Arts of Treachery, and practiſing ſecret and abominable Senſualities. — Neither *Livia*, *Germanicus*, nor *Druſus* were forgot. "The deſpotic "Haughtineſs of the Mother (added they), joined "to the Vices of the Son, will make us ſuffer "all the Rigors of Servitude. We ſhall be Slaves "to a Woman inſpired with all the Tyranny of "her Sex, and to two ambitious Youths, who "will firſt combine to oppreſs the State, and "then divide, to rend it piece-meal."

While the Public was engaged in theſe and the like Debates, *Auguſtus*'s Illneſs increaſed daily, and ſome ſuſpected his Wife to be the guilty

Cauſe; — as if there was Need of Poiſon to kill, in his ſeventy-ſixth Year, a Man naturally of a very weak Conſtitution. *Dion Caſſius* ſays, but mentions it only as a bare Report, that *Livia*, knowing *Auguſtus* was fond of Figs, poiſoned ſome while they hung upon the Tree; and that gathering and eating others herſelf, ſhe gave the deadly Fruit to the Emperor.

As no Crime is ſuppoſed to be committed without ſome View, Reaſons are aſſigned for *Livia*'s perpetrating this. — It is pretended that ſhe was alarmed on Account of *Tiberius*'s Succeſſion to the Empire: — and, in Fact, Authors of great Weight [7] ſay, that *Auguſtus*'s Tenderneſs for his Grandſon *Agrippa*, a young Prince who, though by no Means amiable, had not been convicted of any real Crime, began to revive towards the latter End of his Life; that he ſpoke of it to *Fabius Maximus*, and complained of the Neceſſity he was under of making his Wife's Son his Heir, whilſt there yet remained one of his own Blood. — What may give ſome Room to doubt the Truth of this Story, is the Addition of a Circumſtance no Way probable. *Tacitus* and *Dion Caſſius* ſay, that *Auguſtus*, taking with him none but *Fabius*, ſailed ſecretly over to the Iſland of *Planaſia*, where his unfortunate Grandſon lived in Exile; that the Interview was very tender; that many Tears were ſhed on both Sides; and that, in

[7] *Plin.* VII. 45. *Tacit.* Ann. I. *Plut.* de Garrul. *Dio.*

Conſequence of this, the Friends of the unhappy Youth hoped to ſee him reſtored to the Place to which his Birth entitled him. — But, who can believe that *Auguſtus* could go from *Rome* to an Iſland near *Corſica*, without *Livia*'s knowing it? — For, according to theſe Writers, ſhe never was informed of it but through the Indiſcretion of *Fabius*, who revealed the Secret to his Wife *Marcia*, and ſhe told it to *Livia*.

The Inventors of this Story, whoever they were, do not ſtop here. *Livia*, add they, picked a Quarrel with her Huſband *Auguſtus*, for having concealed from her his Deſigns in Favor of *Agrippa*. " If you want, ſaid ſhe, to recal your Grandſon, " why do you render me and all my Family " odious to the Perſon you intend to make your " Succeſſor?" *Auguſtus* was greatly concerned to find his Secret diſcovered; and when *Fabius* came to ſalute him the next Morning, wiſhing him *a good Day*, a familiar Expreſſion which the *Romans* ſtill made Uſe of, even to their Maſter, the Emperor anſwered, " Farewel, *Fabius*." — The indiſcrete Confidant underſtood perfectly well the Meaning of this Word, with which the Ancients uſed to take their laſt Leave of the Dead, after cloſing them up in the Tomb. — Driven to Deſpair, he immediately returned Home, told his Wife what had paſſed, and, adding that he could not ſurvive his Breach of Truſt towards *Auguſtus*, killed himſelf. — *Marcia*'s Grief was extreme at his Funeral, when, with bitter Lamentations, ſhe frequently exclaimed, that ſhe was the Cauſe of her Huſband's

Death. *Pliny* closes this Account with saying, that the Designs of *Tiberius* and *Livia* gave *Augustus* great Uneasiness. — But, to me, the Whole of this Story seems to be a very lame Invention. — *Augustus* makes a pitiful Figure in it; — his Voyage to *Planasia* is visibly a Fable; — and his pretended Mistrust of *Livia* is fully refuted by his Dying-words.

That *Livia* had gained an absolute Ascendant over *Augustus* in his Decline, is evident from all History. He had Foibles to cover, which she did; — having none herself, — except Cunning and Ambition. — She had the greatest Command of her own Spirit and Passions, that perhaps ever Woman had. — A great Lady, much in her Confidence, took the Liberty one Day to ask her, By what Means she had obtained so entire an Ascendant over *Augustus?* — to which she frankly answered, "By winking at his Irregularities, and "indulging him in his Amours." — She had much such a stately Character as *Philip*'s *Molossian* Dame, *Olympias*. — The old King happened to fall in Love with a very beautiful and accomplished young Woman, whom *Olympias* had never seen. He doted on this Mistress to such a Degree, that his Passion became the usual Theme of Conversation; and the common Talk at the Queen's Court was, that the Lady had bewitched him. *Olympias* had the Curiosity to see her; and after conversing with her for some Time, — "Child! said she, "I absolve thee of Witchcraft; — thou hast Spells "enough in that Person of thine, to charm a "colder Heart than the King's."

There is a Period in Life when Men of a certain Turn become indolent, and above all Things love their Eaſe. — They grow fearful of Courſe, and fix their Happineſs upon an Order of Life in a certain Way, which they ſtart at ſeeing diſconcerted — This makes them willing rather to let themſelves be deceived, than throw off darling Habits to reſent it. This is the Source of the Sway which old Servants — kept Miſtreſſes — and Favorites of every Sort, bear over their Betters. *Auguſtus* could not think of breaking with *Livia*. — She had not contradicted him in any Thing — had complied with all his Humors ---- had even condeſcended to ſerve him in his little *Amourettes* ---- and was become neceſſary to the Peace as well as Pleaſure of his Life. ---- Could he part with ſo accompliſhed a Woman? ---- Could he give up ſo complaiſant a Wife, after cohabiting with her upwards of forty Years? Though he knew her Artifice and Cunning; ---- though he Knew that ſhe had ruined his Family; ---- though he might ſuſpect her even of having poiſoned his Grand-children by *Julia*, to make Way for her own Son; ---- yet he bore all; and, to gratify her, baniſhed his only remaining Grand-child, *grippa Poſthumus*.

Auguſtus's Illneſs began with a violent Purging, which ſeized him as he was conducting *Tiberius* Part of the Way to *Illyricum*, whither he was ſent, either, as *Velleius* ſays [a], to eſtabliſh Peace in a Country which he had conquered, or, as *Tacitus*

[a] Lib. II.

gives us to understand, that the Provinces and Troops might be accustomed to acknowledge him as Successor to the Empire [9].

Augustus accompanied him as far as *Beneventum*, and, notwithstanding his Indisposition, made it quite a Journey of Pleasure [1]. He sailed along the delightful Coast of *Campania*, and among the neighbouring Islands, and staid four Days in *Caprea*, tasting the Sweets of Quiet and Repose, and enjoying all Sorts of Amusements. Just as he was passing by the Gulph of *Pozzuoli*, a Ship arrived from *Alexandria*; and all the Sailors belonging to it immediately made Rejoicings for him, by clothing themselves in White, putting Wreaths upon their Heads, burning Incense, loading him with Praises and Blessings, and repeatedly crying out, that through him they lived, to him they owed the Safety of their Navigation, and that their Liberty and Fortunes were Gifts due to his Wisdom and Goodness ---- These Acclamations, so moving to a good Prince, rejoiced him greatly; and to reward them, he gave each of those who were with him forty Pieces of Gold, upon the express Condition that they should lay it all out in the Purchase of Goods from that Vessel.

He took several little Diversions of this Kind during his Stay in *Caprea*. Among other Things, he gave *Roman* Gowns and *Greek* Mantles to his

[9] Omnes per exercitus ostentatur. *Annal.* Lib. I.

[1] *Sueton.* Aug. § XCVIII, & XCIX. *Vell.* Lib. II. 123. *Tacit.* Annal. Lib. I.

whole Court, on Condition that the *Greeks* ſhould wear the *Toga*, or Gown, and the *Romans* the Mantle. He was always preſent at the Games and Diverſions of the young People of the Iſland, which was a *Greek* Colony, and ſtill retained Traces of its Origin, in the Manners and Cuſtoms of its Inhabitants. He likewiſe treated all the young People; permitting, and even requiring, them to divert themſelves freely, and be under no Reſtraint on Account of his being there. The Treat ended with ſetting them a ſcrambling for the Victuals and Deſerts left upon the Tables. In ſhort, every innocent Diverſion that he could partake of, was deviſed.

From *Caprea* he went to *Naples*, ſtill more indiſpoſed. He was, however, deſirous to ſee the Quinquennial Games, inſtituted to his Honor in that famous City, where he ſtaid from the Beginning of them to the End. From thence he continued his Journey as far as he had propoſed to go, which was to *Beneventum*, where he took Leave of *Tiberius*.

Whilſt *Auguſtus* was returning towards *Rome*, his Diſorder increaſed daily, and at laſt became ſo violent, that he was forced to ſtop at *Nola*, and there take to his Bed. *Livia* immediately diſpatched a Courier to her Son, who had ſcarcely had Time to reach *Illyricum*. *Tiberius* returned with all poſſible Expedition; and, if we believe *Velleius* and *Suetonius*, arrived in Time to have a long and ſerious Conference with *Auguſtus*. But *Tacitus* ſays, it is not certain whether he

found him alive; --- for all the Roads were ſtrictly guarded by *Livia*'s Order, and no Accounts of any Thing tranſpired, but ſuch as ſhe pleaſed.

Auguſtus was not long ſick in Bed, but expected Death with great Compoſure. On the laſt Day of his Life, after inquiring whether the Condition he was in did not already begin to occaſion ſome Diſturbance abroad, he ordered a Looking-glaſs to be brought to him, his Hair to be dreſſed, and ſomething to be done to his Cheeks, that they might not ſeem ſo greatly ſunk as they were. Then calling in his Friends, and ſeeing them around his Bed, he aſked them, Whether they did not think that he had acted his Part tolerably well in the Farce of Life? and immediately added, in a *Greek* Verſe with which the *Roman* Plays were generally ended, "Let all applaud, and clap their Hands with Joy[2]" --- After this comic Farewel, he ordered every Body to leave him except *Livia*, in whoſe Arms he ſoon died, ſaying to her, "*Livia*, farewel! Remember our happy Union[3]." --- He expired, as he had always earneſtly wiſhed to do, without any Struggle or Convulſion[4].

[2] Amicos admiſſos percunctatus, *Ecquid iis videretur mimum vitæ commodè tranſegiſſe*, adjecit & clauſulam;

Δότε κρότον, πᾶντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρᾶς κτυπήσατε.

Suet. in Aug. § XCIX.

[3] *Livia*, noſtri conjugii memor vive, ac vale.

[4] *Livia*, who was diſtinguiſhed by the Appellation of *Julia Auguſta*, died at the Age of eighty-two, in the ſixteenth Year of *Tiberius*, *C. Rubellius*, and *C. Fuſius*, each ſurnamed *Geminus*, being Conſuls. — She was deſ-

Auguſtus died at *Nola*, on the nineteenth Day of *Auguſt*, in the ſame Room where his Father

ceded from the *Claudii*, was adopted through her Father into the *Livian* Family, and into the *Julian* by *Auguſtus*; ſo that ſhe was ſignally noble both by Adoption and Deſcent. Her firſt Marriage was with *Tiberius Nero*, by whom ſhe had Children. Her Husband, after the Surrender of *Peruſa*, in the Civil War, became a Fugitive; but when Peace was made between *Sextus Pompey* and the Triumvirate, he returned to *Rome*. Afterwards *Octavius Cæſar*, ſmitten with her Beauty, ſnatched her from her Husband (whether with or againſt her own Inclination, is uncertain), with ſuch Precipitation, that, without ſtaying for her Delivery, he married her yet big with Child by *Tiberius a*. After this, ſhe had no Iſſue; but by the Marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her Blood came to be mixed with that of *Auguſtus* in their Grand-children. — In her domeſtic Deportment, ſhe conformed to the venerable Model of Antiquity, but with more Complaiſance than was allowed by the Ladies of old. She was an eaſy courteous Wife, and an ambitious Mother; well comporting with the nice Arts of her Husband, and the Diſſimulation of her Son. ---- No extraordinary Pomp was laviſhed on her Funeral, and her laſt Will lay long unfulfilled. Her Encomium was pronounced in Public by *Caligula*, her Grandſon, afterwards Emperor. ---- *Tiberius*, by a Letter, excuſed himſelf to the Senate for not having paid the laſt Offices to his Mother; and, though he rioted in every Exceſs of *private* Luxury, pleaded *the Multitude of Public Affairs*. He likewiſe abridged the Honors decreed to her Memory; and, of a large Number, allowed but very few. For this Reſtriction he pleaded *Modeſty*, and added, that no religious Worſhip ſhould be appointed to her, for that the contrary was her own Choice. --- In a Part of the ſame Letter, he cenſured *feminine Friendships*; obliquely

[a See Vol. IV. p. 206, et ſeq.]

Octavius died. He was seventy-six Years old, wanting thirty-five Days, being born on the twenty-second of *September* in the Year of *Rome*

attacking the Conſul *Fuſius*, a Man highly diſtinguiſhed by the Favor of *Livia*, and dexterous to engage and cajole the Affections of Women; --- a gay Talker, and accuſtomed to play upon *Tiberius* with biting Sarcaſms, the Impreſſions of which, as *Tacitus* juſtly obſerves *b*, never die in the Hearts of Princes.

Livia bore *Agrippina* a Grudge, though married to her Grandſon, chiefly becauſe of her Mother *Julia*, *Auguſtus*'s Daughter, and her great and haughty Spirit. --- *Mutilia Priſca* was a Confidante of the old Lady, and had introduced her own Gallant, *Julius Poſthumus*, into high Favor with her Patroneſs. --- This was the Man pitched upon by *Sejanus*, to irritate *Livia* againſt her Granddaughter.

Her Liberality both to particular Men, and to Bodies of Men famous for Learning or Piety, was certainly a beautiful Part of her Character. --- There was a myſtical Word in the Temple of *Delphi* ($\overline{\text{EI}}$), of which the Letters were at firſt formed of Wood, afterwards they were caſt in Braſs; and *Livia* made a Preſent of them to the Temple, in Gold *c*. --- She dedicated the magnificent Temple of *Concord* out of Reſpect to *Auguſtus*; who, to ſhow her how highly he valued the Foundreſs and the Name, adorned the Structure with curious and valuable Conſecrations. Among theſe were four Elephants, carved in a peculiar Kind of Stone, reſembling the blackeſt Glaſs, and called from *Obſidius*, who firſt found it in *Ethiopia*, *Obſidian* Stone. There were Statues of *Auguſtus* himſelf, which *Pliny* ſaw *d*, of the ſame Materials; that Prince

b Annal. Lib V.

c Πλυτ. περὶ τοῦ $\overline{\text{EI}}$ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς,

d Natural Hiſt. Lib. XXXVI. c. 26.

DCLXXXIX; or rather, if we conſider the Year of Confuſion which preceded the Reformation of the Kalendar by *Julius*, which conſiſted of four hundred and forty-five Days, we ſhall find that he was ſomewhat upwards of ſeventy-ſix when he died.

The Duration of his Power, if reckoned from the Time of the Triumvirate, of which he took Poſſeſſion on the twenty-ſeventh of *November*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCIX, was fifty-five Years and nine Months, within a few Days: — If from the Battle of *Actium*, by which he became ſole Maſter of the World, that Battle being fought on the ſecond of *September*, DCCXXI, he will

being taken with the Solidity and Thickneſs of the Blocks, and thinking the Elephants a wonderful Sight, for the ſame Reaſon. --- *Livia* herſelf likewiſe dedicated there the famous Sardonyx, ſaid to be the Ring of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*; who, apprehenſive of a Change in his long and conſtant Flow of Proſperity, thought he might be quit with Fortune, and make a Kind of Expiation to *Nemeſis*, the avenging Power, if he deprived himſelf of his favorite Gem. In this Opinion, the threw his Ring into the Sea; a Fiſh ſwallowed it, was catched the next Morning, and brought into the King's Kitchen with the Ring in its Belly. --- I know not how it came into *Livia*'s Hands; but ſhe dedicated it in a Horn of Gold, and it was not reckoned a Preſent of the loweſt Order, among many others of immenſe Value *e*. --- She built a Portico, or covered Walk, of ſuch immenſe Magnificence and adorned with ſo many curious Ornaments, as to make it, even at that Time, one of the Wonders of *Rome f*.

e Plin. Lib. XXXVII. c. 1.

f Strabo, Georg. Lib. V.

have enjoyed the ſovereign Power near forty-four Years; --- but if we reckon from the Time of the ſervile Act of the Senate, by which he was, *legally* as it was called, inveſted with abſolute Authority, he may be ſaid to have governed as Prince and Emperor forty Years, ſeven Months, and thirteen Days, --- All the Reſt was manifeſt Uſurpation and Tyranny.

With Reſpect to the Character of this famous Prince, the undoubted Author and Founder of the Monarchical Government which ſubſiſted in *Rome* after his Time, I am very unhappy in being obliged to differ from one of the moſt eminent Men that *Britain* ever produced, the great Lord *Verulam* --- but greater in Learning and Philoſophy, than in the Conduct of either public or private Life --- yet of ſuch Humanity and Candor, that, were he now to live, he would be the firſt to approve of a Diſſent from his Opinions, founded upon, or rather extorted by, *Truth*. He affirms, that if ever Mortal was poſſeſſed of a ſerene, untroubled, permanent Greatneſs of Soul, it was *Auguſtus Cæſar*[s]; than which there never was a good Character leſs deſerved, at leaſt in the former Part of his Life. --- But it is not given at random, in a careleſs Way. --- No, the Miſapprehenſion, like the Errors of great Men, is founded upon an ingenious Speculation upon a Piece of abſtract Philoſophy --- Men of ſuch

[s] AUGUSTO CÆSARI, ſi cui mortalium, magnitudo animi inerat inturbida, ſerena, & ordinata.

Characters, endowed with ſuch and ſuch Qualities, are wont to order their Lives in ſuch a Manner. — But *Auguſtus*'s Life was ſo ordered: — Therefore *ſuch a Man* he was [c]. — Nothing more fallacious. — Had the great Chancellor been at any Pains to look into the Viciſſitudes and alternate Paſſions of that Prince's *private Life* and *particular Conduct*; had he conſidered the *Facts* related of the young *Cæſar*, and compared them with his *Temper* and *Situation*, he would have pronounced the ſame Sentence upon him as *Silenus* does in the Feaſt of the Gods; but he has only viewed the general Fame of his Life, and the latter Tenor of his Government, and from theſe two formed a philoſophical ſpeculative Character of *Auguſtus*, very different from what he would have done, had he entered into the Detail of his Actions. His exorbitant fooliſh Ambition in ſeeking the ſecond Place in the Empire (the *Magiſtratus Equitum*) from his Grand-uncle the Dictator, before he was eighteen, his Cowardice one Day, and Stoutneſs another; his Cruelty, Revenge, Suſpicion, Aſſaſſinations, Profuſions, Murders, Adulteries, and the whole Whirl of the blackeſt Paſſions that can agitate a human Breaſt; — Theſe, I ſay, when compared with his Deſpair, Forbearance, Economy, Mercy, and Beneficence,

[c] Qui ingenio commotiores ſunt, ii ferè adoleſcentias per varios errores tranſigunt, ac ſub mediam ætatem demum ſe oſtendunt. Quibus autem natura eſt compoſita & placida, ii primâ etiam ætate florere poſſunt.

Fr. Baconi Imago civilis Auguſt. Cæſ.

ſhow him to have been the moſt various, diſſimilar, and unſettled of Creatures at firſt, and, juſt like an ordinary Man, aſſuming a new Character at every Change of Circumſtances.

After fairly weighing his good and his bad Qualities, his public Actions, and his private Life, it is to me very plain, that *Auguſtus* was but of a middle Character, occupied ſometimes with very ſmall Matters. --- He taught his Children Writing and Short-hand himſelf, as I mentioned before, and was at ſo much Pains about no one Thing as to inſtruct them to imitate his own Hand-writing. --- It was obſerved of *Lewis* XIV. of *France*, that he applied himſelf with the ſame Earneſtneſs to the Plan of a Summer-houſe, or Draught of a Garden, as he did to the Plan of the Operations of a Campaign, or the weightieſt Affair of State. --- And I remember to have ſmiled at a Circumſtance related by a Gentleman of Merit, who attended the young Duke of *Anjou*, by Ways and Means made King of *Spain*, in his Journey from *Paris* to *Madrid*. The moſt Chriſtian King was extremely ſolicitous about the Departure of his Grandſon. He regulated the Route he ſhould take, the Number of the Body-Guards, the Equipage of the two Princes (the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*) who were to accompany their Brother to the Frontiers of *Spain*. When they arrived there, they found that his Majeſty of *France* had ſo well ordered their Way of Living upon the Road, that he had taken upon him in a Manner the Function of a Phyſician; for they

they were directed not to dine, but only to take a Breakfaſt and Supper; and to ſup, and go to Bed early [7].

Auguſtus wanted to be thought a great General, and loved to be complimented upon his Conduct. — There was indeed much Caution in it, with which he ſupplied the Want of that high Spirit, and Knowledge of Opportunity and Stratagems, which diſtinguiſhes great Commanders. His Conqueſts were all made by Dint of the *Roman* Diſcipline, and the Bravery of the Men; but not any Thing was accompliſhed by the Spirit and Vigilance of the General, which makes a ſmall Body equal to great Armies, or brings them off, when nothing but Deſtruction is before their Eyes. — He was happy, firſt in *Agrippa*, and then in *Druſus*, who had the Turn proper for Conquerors. — The *Lacedemonians*, thoſe thorough Judges of War, had this Diſtinction ſo much in their Eye, that they had Ceremonies appointed to anſwer it [8]. — It is true, *Julian* brings *Auguſtus* in with *Cæſar* and *Trajan*, the great Warriors; but it is rather for the many Wars he was engaged in than his Maſtery in them. He had indeed no Pleaſure in War, nor did he make any without Neceſſity, except the *Dalmatic*. He even made the tributary Kings ſwear that they would not

[7] *Marq. de Langallerie*, Mem.

[8] Ὅταν σφαλῆσθαι τὰς πολεμίας νικήσωσι, ἔξω τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν: ὅταν δ' ἐκ τᾶ φανερᾶ, Ἀλεκτρύονα: ἐθίζοντες τὰς ἡγεμένους οὐ μόνον πολεμικὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλῆγικὰς εἶναι. Πλυτ. Ἐπιθεύματα Λακωνικ.

involve him in new ones; and, to avoid them, profeſſed that he did not wiſh to extend the Limits of the Empire. — He followed his Father's Example in his Largeſſes to the Troops, whom he, however, at the ſame Time, conſtantly ſubjected to the ſtricteſt Diſcipline [9]; even the higheſt Officers often finding it very difficult to obtain Leave to ſpend the Winter in *Rome*. Whole Cohorts, which had fled before the Enemy, were ſeverely puniſhed by his Order; and after decimating them, Barley was given inſtead of Wheat to ſuch as Fortune had favored with Life. Captains, as well as private Soldiers, were equally puniſhed with Death, if they quitted their Poſt. For lighter Faults, he revived certain old military Puniſhments, which had been diſuſed for ſome Time. When he harangued the Troops, he did not call them *Fellow-ſoldiers*, according to the Cuſtom which then began to be introduced, and which afterwards prevailed, but only *Soldiers*, as in the Days of the ancient Republic; and he inſiſted that his Sons, and Sons-in-Law ſhould do the ſame, when they commanded the Armies. At the ſame Time he was particularly cautious not to carry his Severities too far, and was much better pleaſed when he had Room to reward, than Occaſion to puniſh. In his Rewards, he was liberal of ſuch as, by the Richneſs of the Matter, carried with them a Kind of pecuniary Recompence, like Gorgets and Bracelets of Gold or Silver, *&c.* but was very

[9] *Suet.* in Aug. § XXIV & XXV.

ſparing of thoſe which were purely honorary, as mural and civic Crowns, and other ſuch like. He would have theſe be well deſerved, before he granted them; nor did Favor or Intereſt avail with him in this Reſpect, for common Soldiers often received them from his own Hand. It was, however, ſo far his Intereſt to keep well with the chief Citizens of the Republic, that he ſometimes thought it prudent to recede from the Severity of his Maxim with Regard to Triumphs. *Suetonius* ſays [1], that he granted this Honor to above thirty Generals, and the Ornaments of Triumph to a much greater Number.

This is nearly the Idea which may be formed of *Auguſtus*'s Character and Conduct, ſo far as they relate to War; — but his Wiſdom was moſt apparent in his Civil Government. Nothing could be more artfully concerted, or more dexterouſly purſued, than his deep-laid Plan to obtain a legal Sanction of his manifeſt Uſurpation. The cunning Precaution of leaving to the Senate and People a *ſeeming* Share of the Public Power, effectually rivetted their Chains, and ſecured his own unbounded Sway. The Dictator JULIUS had ſhown him how to ſeize the Sovereignty; — but he was indebted to himſelf only for knowing how to uſe it; — for that wiſe Medium, a Mixture of Monarchy and Republic, which alone could ſuit Men incapable of bearing, as *Tacitus* makes the Emperor *Galba* ſays long after, "Either

[1] In Aug. § XXXVIII.

" entire Liberty, or entire Servitude [2]." The Length of his Life enabled him to make his new Plan of Government take deep Root; and by forty Years of quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion, he gave it ſuch Strength, as rendered it permanent to the End of the *Roman* Nation; — for though his Succeſſors were Tyrants, who made an exceſſive Abuſe of their Power, yet they did not dare to alter the fundamental Conſtitution of the State, of which evident Traces ſtill remained, even after the Seat of the Empire was removed to *Conſtantinople*.

If any Thing can palliate, for certainly nothing can juſtify, the Woes which *Auguſtus* made his Country ſuffer, it may, perhaps, be the mixed Form of Government which he introduced [3]; a Form uſeful to the Prince, and, at laſt, not leſs ſo to the Nation, which thereby enjoyed, whilſt he reigned, the Advantages of Freedom, joined to Tranquillity and good Order; for the *Romans*, equally ſecured againſt the tumultuous Licentiouſneſs of a Democracy, and the Oppreſſion of a tyrannical Power, had a proper Degree of Liberty under a Monarch to whom they were not Slaves,

[2] Imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.

Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. I.

Τὴν μοναρχίαν τῇ δημωκρατίᾳ μίξας τόνδε ἐλεύθερον σφίσιν ἐτήρησε, ἢ τὸ κύσμιον, τό, τε ἀσφαλὲς ωροσπαρεσκεύασεν ὥς ἔξω μὲν τᾶ δημοκραλικᾶ θράσες, ἔξω δὲ τᾶν τυραννικᾶν ὕβρεων ὄνλας ἔνδε ἐλευθερίᾳ, σώφρονε ἢ ἐν μοναρχίᾳ ἄδεσν ζῆν, βασιλευομένες τε ἄνευ δελείας, ἢ δημοκραλεμένες ἄνευ διχοσασίας.

Dio. Lib. LVI.

and tasted the Sweets of a popular Government, without the deadly Consequences of internal Feuds. From the Time of his becoming sole Head of the Commonwealth, his Study was to govern it like a good Prince, by restoring due Order to every Part of the then infinitely confused State. His Reform extended to every Class, to the Senate, the Knights, and the People. He resolved to make *Rome*, *Italy*, and the Provinces, sensible how much their Condition was better under his Administration; and he succeeded perfectly in this great Undertaking.

I have already said with what Zeal and Perseverance he labored, notwithstanding many Difficulties, and even Dangers, to restore Dignity and Splendor to the Senate, debased by the great Number and Worthlessness of its Members. He either granted new Privileges to the Children of Senators, or confirmed them in the Prerogatives of their Ancestors, and took a Pleasure in advancing them. Far from being infected with that mean Jealousy which often induces new Sovereigns to study how they may humble ancient Families, and raise only their own Creatures, *Augustus*, at the same Time that he protected and rewarded Merit, though without Birth, was not all alarmed when he found it joined with Nobility of Blood. His Liberalities revived and supported many old Families ready to drop and be extinguished through Indigence [4]; and the List of Consuls during his

[4] *Tac.* Ann. Lib. II. *Sect.* in Aug. § XLI.

Reign is, in general, compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious Names that *Italy* could boaſt of. — By favoring the Nobility, he ſecured the Intereſt and Affection of that powerful Body againſt any Struggle that might be made by the Commons.

The Equeſtrian Order, deemed the Nurſery of the Senate, was the ſecond Rank in the State, in Point of Dignity. *Auguſtus*, wiſhing to reſtore its former Luſtre, reviewed it often, and revived the Cuſtom, then long diſuſed, of the ſolemn Pomp in which the Knights, mounted on the Horſes which the Republic kept for them, clothed in Purple Robes, crowned with Wreaths of Olive, and decorated with the Enſigns of Honor which each of them had acquired in Battle, marched in Ceremony, in a Body of four or five thouſand, from the Temple of *Mars*, or that of Honor, through the Gate *Collina*, to the Temple of *Caſtor* in the *Forum*.

This, indeed, was a Show, ſeemingly fit only to amuſe the Multitude; — but *Auguſtus*, who had more ſolid Views, after making the Senate appoint ten Aſſeſſors, obliged all the Knights to give an Account of their Lives and Conduct. Of thoſe who were moſt culpable, ſome were mulcted, and others were ſtigmatized; but the greateſt Part were quit for a ſevere Reprimand: the mildeſt Cenſure was giving them a Billet, wherein their Faults were written, and which they were ordered to read directly to themſelves, in the Emperor's Preſence.

This Severity towards the guilty was tempered

by *Auguſtus*'s Indulgence to thoſe whom the Misfortunes of the Times, and not their own Misconduct, had excluded from that Order. As ſeveral had been ruined by the Civil Wars, and were not poſſeſſed of the Value of four hundred thouſand Seſterces (*l.* 3200), which was the legal Qualification, they could not rank with their former Companions at public Shows and Entertainments. *Auguſtus* permitted them to claſs as before, and exempted from the ſtrict Letter of the Law thoſe who either had been themſelves, or were deſcended from Fathers who had been worth the Sum requiſite to qualify them to be *Roman* Knights.

The amuſing of the People with Spectacles and Diverſions, and captivating their Affection by Donatives of Corn and Money, was a principal Part of *Auguſtus*'s deep-laid Policy: — Though, even in this, whilſt his Liberalities ſecured the clamorous Applauſe of a reſtleſs Multitude accuſtomed to live at the Expenſe of the Republic, he ſtill had an Eye to the Welfare of the State, by taking particular Care to protect Laborers, Traders, and Huſbandmen[5]; thoſe real Sources of genuine Wealth and Power. — Nor did he ſo far indulge that Multitude in their Madneſs for what they called Diverſions, as not to moderate a little the inhuman Combats of Gladiators, in which the *Romans*, in general, took great Delight. He would no longer ſuffer thoſe unfortunate

[5] *Suet.* in Aug. § XLII & XLV.

Wretches to fight till one of them was dead; but was desirous to leave them Hopes of coming off from those barbarous Games without being obliged to kill, or be killed.

He was extremely jealous of preserving the *Roman* Blood pure and untainted by Alliances with Foreigners or Slaves [t]. — *Tiberius* having asked the Freedom of *Rome* for a *Greek* who was attached to him, "I shall not grant your Request, "(replied *Augustus*) till I have been fully satisfied, "from your own Mouth, of the Justness of the "Reasons which make you desire this Favor." — *Livia* wanted to obtain the same Boon for a tributary *Gaul*; but the Emperor refused it, saying, He would rather diminish the Revenue of the State, by exempting him from Tribute, than lessen the Dignity of the Title of *Citizen of Rome*, by making it too common.

Slaves emancipated by *Roman* Citizens, had, from Time immemorial, been used to become Citizens themselves. — *Augustus* would not attempt to abolish a Custom of so long standing; but he rendered their Manumission more difficult than before, by several additional Clauses and Conditions; and at the same Time declared, that no Slave, who had been put in Irons, or racked, should ever be capable of acquiring the Privileges of a Citizen of *Rome*, even though his Freedom should be granted in the fullest and most regular Manner.

[t] *Suet.* in Aug. § XL.

His Attention extended even to the Dreſs of the *Romans*. He could not bear to ſee the ancient *Toga* diſregarded; for the common People had begun to lay it aſide, and the richer Claſs were got into a Faſhion of wearing a Kind of Surtout which hid it. Obſerving, one Day, a Crowd of Citizens dreſſed in that Manner, he repeated with Indignation this Line of *Virgil*,

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam[e],

and ordered the *Ediles* not to ſuffer any Citizen to appear either in the *Circus* or the *Forum* dreſſed otherwiſe than in the *Toga*, without any other Garment over it. — But Convenience prevailed over his Prohibitions, and Surtouts became the general Mode.

The City of *Rome* aſſumed a new Appearance under the Auſpices of this Prince. The old *Romans* had been more ſtudious to render it powerful, by their Conqueſts, than to embelliſh and adorn it; but *Auguſtus* gave it a Magnificence worthy of the Capital of the World, by the very many ſtately Edifices erected or repaired, either by himſelf, or his Friends, and the other great Men of *Rome*, at his Deſire. — The Safety and Convenience of its Inhabitants was a principal Object of his Care. To provide for the former, he inſtituted a Patrol, whoſe Buſineſs was to prevent Robberies and Fires, to which *Rome* was very ſubject; and

[e] Æneid. I. 236.

for the latter, he, or rather the great *Agrippa*, brought Plenty of Water into the City, from all Parts, at an immenſe Expenſe, through amazingly ſuperb Aqueducts. To prevent, as much as poſſible, the Inundations of the *Tiber*, which were a dreadful Scourge, *Auguſtus* ordered the Bed of that River to be cleanſed and enlarged: and that the Benefits accruing from this might be durable, he appointed, among ſeveral other new Employments which he created for the public Good, Inſpectors or Surveyors [7] of the *Tiber*, whoſe Office was to guard, as much as could be, againſt all Inconveniences which might ariſe from that River, and to improve to the utmoſt every Advantage it could poſſibly afford to the City: and that *Rome* might not be overburdened by the Number, or diſturbed by the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiery, he would not ſuffer all his Guards to be quartered in it [8], but had only three Cohorts (three thouſand Men) there at a Time. The Reſt were quartered in the neighbouring Towns.

All *Italy* flouriſhed under *Auguſtus*'s Care. He peopled it a-new, by twenty-eight Colonies which he ſettled in that Country; adorned many of its Cities with fine Buildings, and aſſigned them ſtated Revenues, to defray their neceſſary Expenſes. As the Inhabitants of all the Towns in *Italy* were deemed Citizens of *Rome*, he would have them enjoy the Prerogatives of that Diſtinction, in all

[7] *Sueton.* § XXXVII.

[8] *Suet.* Aug. § XLVI.

Nominations to Magiſtracies in *Rome*. When the Time of Election drew near, the Senators of the Colonies and Towns corporate ſent their Votes, ſealed up, to *Rome*, and due Regard was paid to them. — Studious to ſupport honeſt Families, and to encourage the Increaſe of the People, he readily received into the Cavalry Lads born of reputable Parents, if they brought a Recommendation from the Magiſtrates of their Diſtricts; and in his Circuits through the Country, Fathers of Families, who preſented their Children to him, received from him as many thouſand Seſterces as they had Sons or Daughters.

The Provinces were happy under *Auguſtus*'s Government. Inſtead of a Multitude of Maſters which they had before, they then had but one. Formerly, when torn to Pieces by Factions of the Great, and tyrannically oppreſſed by rapacious Governors, their Appeal to the Laws was ſuppreſſed by Violence, Bribery, or Intereſt; — but now they were protected by the Emperor, who made them taſte the Sweets of Peace, kept their Governors within proper Bounds, and enforced a due Obſervation of the Laws.

To theſe general and common Benefits, *Auguſtus* added particular ones in Favor of certain Towns and Provinces, according to the Nature of their reſpective Caſes [9]. He nobly relieved ſuch as were over-loaded with public Debts, or had been afflicted by Death or Earthquakes; and to

[9] *Suet.* in Aug. § XLVII.

thoſe whoſe Conduct had been particularly meritorious, he granted either the Privileges which the *Latins* had enjoyed before they became *Roman* Citizens, or even the Title and Prerogatives of Citizens of *Rome*. — There was no one Province in his vaſt Empire which he did not viſit perſonally, except *Sardinia* and *Africa*; and he intended to ſee them alſo, after he had conquered *Pompey*; but was then prevented by Storms, and never had another Opportunity or Motive to make that Voyage.

He conſidered the Kings who were Allies of the *Romans*, as a Sort of Members of the Empire, and therefore entitled to his Care and Protection [1]. He ſtudied to unite them by Alliances, and to preſerve Peace in their Families. — Of this, *Herod* was a ſignal Example. He cauſed ſeveral of their Children to be educated with his own; and, where Kings were Minors, or their Reaſon and Intellects had been impaired by Age, he appointed Tutors and Regents to aſſiſt them in the Government of their States.

Auguſtus's paternal Vigilance extended to all. We have farther Proofs of it in the Laws which he enacted to regulate the Manners of the People, and baniſh various Abuſes; in the Care he took to connect and cement all the Parts of his immenſe Territories, and the widely different Nations under his Government; and to facilitate their Commerce, by making, from the Centre of *Rome* to the

[1] *Suet.* in Aug. § XLVIII.

Extremities of the Empire, ſuch Roads as are, to this Day, in many Places, ſtupendous Monuments of the vaſt Magnificence of the *Romans*. The Eſtabliſhment of Poſts and Couriers was likewiſe a very uſeful Thing [2], though reſtricted to Affairs of State, and the immediate Service of the Emperor, who was thereby ſpeedily and exactly informed of all that paſſed in the Provinces. — But the by no Means leaſt laudable Part of *Auguſtus*'s Government was the Pains he took to have Juſtice duly adminiſtered: — a great and moſt eſſential Duty in every Sovereign!

He increaſed the Number of Judges, and multiplied their Days of ſitting to determine Suits [3]. He divided all the Provinces between a certain Number of Perſons of Conſular Dignity, to whom the Parties aggrieved, by the Deciſion of a Provincial Magiſtrate, were allowed to appeal. He himſelf adminiſtered Juſtice with ſurpriſing Aſſiduity, often ſitting in the Court till Night came on; nor did even the frequent Illneſſes to which he was ſubject, prevent his attending to this important Care; for he was either carried to the Tribunal in a Litter, or heard and determined Cauſes in his Bed. Whether at *Rome*, or on a Journey, he ſtill performed this laudable Function, and perſiſted in it as long as he lived; for, notwithſtanding his great Age, he determined a conſiderable Number of Suits during the Days immediately preceding his laſt Departure from *Rome*.

[2] *Suet.* in Aug. § XLIX.

[3] Idem, § XXXII & XXXIII.

An Adminiſtration ſo truly laudable in all its Parts, wanted only a noble Diſintereſtedneſs to render it perfect; — but *Auguſtus*'s Character was ſuch a Compound of Diſguiſe and Diſſimulation, as gives too much Room to think, that the Good which he did to others was chiefly for his own Sake. — He knew how to give the moſt ſpecious Turn to what was, in Reality, calculated wholly for his own Grandeur and Elevation; and could, with wonderful Dexterity, put on the Appearance of Virtues which were not in him. We have a moſt flagrant Proof of this, in his frequently repeated Talk of deſiring to reſign the ſovereign Power, as a Burden too great for him to bear; and yet artfully cauſing it to be continued to him for ten Years longer, after he had enjoyed it forty years, and was ſeventy-five Years old. His great Care to have Props always ready to help to ſupport his Rule, — his raiſing, in that View, and promoting to the higheſt Honors, firſt *Marcellus*, then *Agrippa*, then his two adopted *Cæſars*, and laſt of all *Tiberius*, are palpable Demonſtrations that all his fine Speeches were mere Hypocriſy, and that, to uſe his own Expreſſion, he acted a Farce in this, as in every other Thing.

After this Sketch of *Auguſtus*'s Character as Emperor, his Conduct in private Life will complete the Out-lines of his Portrait; and in this Part we ſhall find great Beauties, with only one Blemiſh, — his Incontinence. *Antony*, and others of his Enemies, charged him with having been

very debauched in his Youth; but their Accuſations were deſtitute of Proofs, and, in *Suetonius*'s Opinion *, are refuted by the Averſion he always expreſſed to thoſe unnatural Crimes which were then ſo frequent among the *Romans*. With Women, indeed, his Incontinence is notorious and averred; and it is remarkable, that even on thoſe Occaſions, where Pleaſure is generally the Object aimed at, *Auguſtus* could not lay aſide his Artifice and Cunning, but would intrigue with other Men's Wives, on Purpoſe to try to find out the Secrets of their Huſbands, and to diſcover whether any Plot was carrying on againſt him.

The Philoſopher *Athenodore* was the firſt who made him think ſeriouſly of reforming his lewd Courſes. — The Women whom *Auguſtus* wanted to have, uſed to be brought into his Bed-chamber in a cloſe Litter. — Being ſmitten with the Wife of one of *Athenodore*'s particular Friends, he ſent for her, juſt when the Philoſopher happened to be at his Friend's Houſe. The Huſband and Wife were in the utmoſt Conſternation, but had not Courage to refuſe. *Athenodore* deſired Leave to extricate them from their Difficulty; which being granted, he dreſſed himſelf in the Lady's Apparel, got into the Litter, and was carried into the Emperor's Apartment, in her Stead. *Auguſtus*, lifting up the Curtain, was aſtoniſhed to ſee *Athenodore*, whoſe Virtue he reſpected, ruſh out, with a naked Sword in his Hand;

* In Aug. § LXIII. LXIX. LXXI.

" How, *Cæſar!* (ſaid the Philoſopher) are you
" not afraid that this Stratagem, of which I make
" an innocent Uſe, may be thought of by ſome
" other, to take away your Life[5]?" *Auguſtus* is ſaid to have been warned by this Reproof; — but if he was, it muſt have been very late, and when he was old; for *Suetonius*, who excuſes, and even praiſes him as much as he can, takes no Notice of it.

Hiſtory does not tax him with any Intemperance at Table, if we except one Entertainment, which was called the Repaſt of the twelve Deities[6]; becauſe the twelve Gueſts, ſix Men and ſix Women, had decked themſelves with the Ornaments and Attributes of the twelve principal Deities of *Olympus*. *Auguſtus*, or rather *Octavius*, for this happened when he was young, repreſented *Apollo*; — but his Youth is a bad Excuſe for an impious Debauchery, which was loudly complained of, with ſo much the more Reaſon, as the City was at that very Time afflicted with Famine: and accordingly the tumultuous Mob cried out the next Day,
" That the Gods had eaten up all the Corn; and
" that *Octavius* was indeed *Apollo*, but *Apollo the*
" *Tormentor*;" — for *Apollo* was worſhipped under that ſtrange Name in one Part of *Rome*.

It is, however, agreed on all Sides, that he may juſtly be propoſed as a Pattern of Sobriety and Temperance; to which was owing, that,

[5] *Zonar.* Lib. X. *Dio.* Lib. LVI.
[6] *Sueton.* in Aug. § LXX.

with

with a naturally weak Conſtitution, he attained to an Age which even the moſt robuſt do not very often reach. He ate but little, and generally of plain Things, and ſeldom drank more than a Pint of Wine at a Meal [7]. His Table was plain and ſimple, except on Holidays or Days of great Ceremony. He invited his Friends, and a certain Number of Citizens of Diſtinction, every Day; and always took Care that a decent Freedom and Gaiety ſhould crown the Entertainment. He himſelf would eat very ſparingly, and ſometimes not at all; for he had no fixed Hour for his Meals, but took them when his Appetite ſerved; ſo that his Friends often ſat down to Table without him, and he dined or ſupped before or after them, as he thought it beſt ſuited his Health.

The ſame Simplicity prevailed in all his Expenſes. Part of his Furniture was ſtill remaining in *Sueto-nius*'s Time; and that Author proteſts [8] it hardly equalled the Elegance of what a rich private Gentleman would have had. All his Clothes, as was ſaid before, were ſpun by his Wife, Siſter, Daughter, or Grand-daughter. His Palace in *Rome* was neither large nor ſhowy; not a Marble-pillar, nor a Piece of Marble-pavement, was to be ſeen in the whole Edifice; and during forty Years that he lived in it, he never changed his Apartment in Summer or Winter [9]. If he wanted

[7] *Suet.* in Aug § LXXII. LXXIV. LXXVI, LXXVII.
[8] In Aug. § LXXIII.
[9] Ibid. LXXII.

to write or ſtudy without being interrupted, he uſed to retire to a Cloſet above Stairs, or went to the Houſe of one of his Freed-men, in the Suburbs; and, which is very remarkable, when he was ſick, he was carried to *Mecenas*'s.

Vaſt and magnificent Country-houſes diſpleaſed him ſo much, that he ordered a very fine one, which his Grand-daughter *Julia* had built at an immenſe Expenſe, to be pulled down to the Ground. His own Villas were neat, compact, and modeſt. He ſtudied leſs to adorn them with Pictures and Statues, than to render them convenient and agreeable by Porticos, Groves, and Walks. Their Halls and Cloſets were decorated with natural Curioſities, or Monuments of Antiquity. *Suetonius* mentions, as an Inſtance ſtill ſubſiſting at *Caprea*, in his Time, the Armor of ancient Heroes, and huge Bones of Sea-Monſters, which the Vulgar uſed to call Bones of Giants.

He has been taxed with being addicted to Gaming; and we find in *Suetonius* a ſpiteful Epigram on this Subject, written at the Time of the *Sicilian* War with *Pompey*. The Purport of it is: "After being twice defeated at Sea, *Octavius* loſt "his Fleet. To have a Chance of conquering "once, he now plays perpetually at Dice [1]." — Criticiſms on this Account gave him no Uneaſineſs; and it muſt be confeſſed, that none but an inve-

[1] Poſtquam bis claſſe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit aſſidué aleam.
Sueton. in Aug. § LXX.

tefate *Cynic* could find Fault with his Play. — When he played, it was for Amuſement only, and for very Trifles, in Compariſon of his high Rank and Fortune; and his Behaviour was always noble and generous. This appears plainly from ſome Fragments of his Letters, which *Suetonius* has preſerved [2]. — In one of them, written to *Tiberius*, he ſays, "My dear *Tiberius*, we have "ſpent the Feaſts of *Minerva* very agreeably, for "we have played every Day, and pretty high. "Your Brother was almoſt out of his Wits; but, "upon the Whole, he has not loſt much. He "had bad Luck at firſt, but ſaved himſelf at "laſt. For my Part, I have loſt twenty thouſand "Seſterces; but that was owing to my being "exceſſively liberal, as I always am: for if I had "made every one pay me exactly, and had kept "what I gave away, I ſhould have won fifty "thouſand Seſterces. But I do not repent it; for "I ſhall be deified by and by for my Generoſity."

This ſimple Narration is a plain Proof that *Auguſtus* found, even in his Play, Opportunities to be generous. — But another Thing well worth obſerving, is, that according to their Rate of Gaming, fifty thouſand Seſterces would have been thought a great Winning, in the five Days that the Feaſts of *Minerva* laſted. Now fifty thouſand Seſterces are equal to about four hundred Pounds of our Money; — a Sum which ſurely could not hurt the Finances of a *Roman* Emperor, or ruin thoſe who played with him.

[2] *Suet.* in Aug. § LXXI.

One of the beſt Things in *Auguſtus* was a ſteady Attachment to his Friends, and a Readineſs to receive Advice. Conſcious of his own Propenſities and Parts, *He* allowed, and *They* took, thoſe Liberties which both prevented and rectified infinite Errors in his Conduct. He was ſlow in contracting a Friendſhip; but, after it was once formed, he did not break it for ſlight Cauſes [3]. As he loved ſincerely, ſo he would be loved again. He ſtuck by his faithful Servants to their Death, and reaped the Fruits of that wiſe Behaviour, in being little troubled with Cabals of one Part of his Miniſtry plodding to worm out the other. --- They knew the Attempt would be vain. --- Of all thoſe who had any Share in his Favor, we ſhall ſcarcely find any but *Salvidienus* and *Cornelius Gallus*, whoſe End was diſaſtrous; and they drew it upon themſelves. As to the others, he not only rewarded their Virtues and Services, but excuſed their Faults, bore even with their ill Humors, and received them cordially when they returned to their Duty. --- By this judicious Conduct he deſerved to have, and really had, true Friends: — a Happineſs of which few Sovereigns can boaſt. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe were AGRIPPA and MECENAS, --- juſtly immortalized by their Protection of the fine Arts and of Learning; and whoſe ſuperior Merit does infinite Honor to *Auguſtus*'s Diſcernment.

His Love for his Family and Children was cruelly traverſed by the premature Death of ſome, and

[3] *Suet.* in Aug. § LXVI.

the Unworthineſs of others, — perhaps of all, had they lived. I except, however, *Agrippina*, *Germanicus*'s Wife, who alone proved herſelf to be the worthy Offspring of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*, and whom he ſettled in the moſt advantageous Manner he poſſibly could, as ſoon as he found that the Circumſtances of Things would not permit him to make her Huſband Emperor. His inviolable Friendſhip for *Octavia* ſpeaks his Excellence as a moſt affectionate Brother; — and to *Livia*, he ſeems to have been but too good a Huſband.

He was kind and indulgent to his Freed-men and Slaves, but without the leaſt Mixture of Weakneſs; for he diſtinguiſhed juſtly between pardonable Faults, and ſuch as it was neceſſary to puniſh[a]. One of his upper Servants, who chanced to be next to him one Day, as he was hunting, ſeeing a wild Boar run furiouſly towards them, ſlipt behind the Emperor, whom he conſequently left expoſed to Danger, to ſave himſelf. *Auguſtus*, candidly imputing it to the poor Fellow's Terror, and not to any bad Deſign, laughed at the Adventure, in which, though he was in Danger, his Servant was innocent. On the other Hand, a Slave, of whom he was very fond, being convicted of Adultery with ſome Ladies of Diſtinction, was condemned to be put to Death without Mercy; and he ordered the Legs of one of his Secretaries to be broken, becauſe he had taken a Bribe to ſhow a Letter with

[a] *Suet.* in Aug. § LXVII.

which he was intruſted. The Preceptors and Head-Domeſtics of his good Son *Caius*, having taken Advantage of the Illneſs of that young Prince, to oppreſs and tyrannize over People, *Auguſtus* ſentenced the Guilty to be thrown into the *Tiber*, with a Stone about their Neck.

Learning attained, under this Monarch, the greateſt Height to which the *Romans* ever carried it. He thought it eſſentially his Duty to encourage and reward the Talents of the Ingenious, and to allow Writers of ſuperior Merit a Right to claim his Favor and Protection. Nor is this to be wondered at; for he was himſelf a Man of Letters [5]. He was thoroughly verſed in the Sciences of the *Greeks*, though not ſo far Maſter of their Language as to write or ſpeak it without ſome Difficulty. From his Youth, he had applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the Study of Eloquence; and he was always very nice in compoſing the Speeches he was to make, either to the Army, the Senate, or the People. He ſucceeded in this Study ſo much, that even *Tacitus* praiſes his Eloquence, as becoming a Prince [6]. To what ſhall I impute his great Singularity in writing down before-hand, and then reading, that he might ſay neither more or leſs than what he thought proper, the Converſations of any Importance

[5] *Suet.* in Aug. § LXXXIV — LXXXVI.

[6] Auguſto prompta ac profluens, quæ deceret Principem, eloquentia fuit.

Tacit. Ann. Lib. XIII.

which he was to have, not only with thoſe he did not often ſee, but even with *Livia?* — His Tone of Voice was agreeable, probably owing to the natural Formation of his Organs; to keep which in due Order, he had a Maſter of Pronunciation, from whom he took regular Leſſons.

Beſides being prompted by Inclination, he found it his Intereſt to patronize learned Men, and ſhow Regard to Philoſophy. — It was a *popular* Thing. The Character of its Profeſſors was ſacred. — The Admitting them to his Court and Councils was in Effect declaring, that he was to govern with Juſtice; that he was to pay a due Regard to Religion, and never to break through the Ties of Humanity. In Fact, the Men of Learning liſtened to by him, and not only countenanced, but careſſed by his Miniſters, did him the greateſt and moſt difficult of all Services. They wrought a total Alteration in him in his higheſt Proſperity, at the Time when Men are uſually above Advice. — Of a fierce, mercileſs Tyrant, they made a mild, humane Prince. Of a bloody barbarous Soldier they made a juſt and merciful Magiſtrate. They did more; they delivered him from inward Torture; they calmed a tumultuous Breaſt, ſcourged with impotent Paſſion, and racked with Remorſe; In a Word, they rendered him ſerene and happy, in Proportion to the Sincerity of his Virtue. *Athenodore*, *Areius*, and *Artemidore* the Geographer, had no ſmall Share in this great Change.

He not only ſtudied and poliſhed his Speeches and Harangues, but did not think it beneath the

Majeſty of the Empire to become Author. Naturally acute, and well founded in Learning, he became, by the Converſation of his accompliſhed Favorites, a real Judge of Compoſition, and a Critic in Poetry. He dipt deep in both himſelf: his *Perſuaſions to Philoſophy*, and his *Tragedy of Ajax*, ſhowed his Love and Zeal for real and elegant Knowledge. His exalted Station did not ſo dazzle him, nor did the Public Cares ſo entirely poſſeſs him, but that he could liſten to, and ſet a juſt Value

On the high Raptures of a happy Muſe
Borne on the Wings of her immortal Thought[7].

— — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — —

Poets, whom firſt the Deities inſpired
With Skill of their high Natures and their Powers[8].

Some of his Friends aſking him what was become of his *Ajax* (for he had ſuppreſſed it, not being pleaſed with his Performance), he replied, "My "*Ajax* has fallen upon a Spunge," alluding to the Story of *Ajax*'s falling upon his own Sword.

His Style was ſmooth, eaſy, and natural; he avoided all puerile or far-fetched Thoughts, all

[7] *Ben. Jonſon*'s Poetaſter.
[8] Ibid.

Affectation in the Turn or Diſpoſition of his Phraſes, all Words not in general Uſe, and which, if I may be allowed to uſe his own Expreſſion [9], had a *muſty* Smell. Like the greateſt Maſters of the Art of Speaking and Writing, he made Perſpicuity his principal Care; — ſacrificing Luxuriancy of Language to Clearneſs of Expreſſion; and chuſing rather to uſe Repetitions, and to add Prepoſitions where Cuſtom generally ſuppreſſed them, than to leave his Meaning at all doubtful or obſcure. Whatever deviated from Nature, in any Shape, hurt the Delicacy of his Taſte; for which Reaſon he blamed equally thoſe who, running too much after Ornaments and Brilliancy of Style, gave into quaint Conceits or turgid Bombaſt; and thoſe who, falling into the other Extreme, were ſtill enamoured with the Ruſt of rude Antiquity. He would often ſmile at the effeminate Turn of *Mecenas*'s Language, *Tiberius*'s labored Phraſes, and the ſonorous empty Pomp of the *Aſiatic* Eloquence which delighted *Antony*. — In a Letter to his Grand-daughter *Agrippina*, after commending her Genius, he adds, "Avoid Affectation, which is always bad and diſpleaſing [1]."

With ſo much Knowledge, and ſuch great Qualifications, *Auguſtus* was weak enough to enter

[9] Reconditorum verborum, ut ipſe dicit, fœtoribus. *Suet.* in Aug. § LXXXVI.

[1] Opus eſt dare te operam ne moleſtè ſcribas aut loquaris. Id. ibid.

into all the Superſtitions of the Vulgar; — to believe in lucky and unlucky Days, in Omens, and in Dreams. I do not reproach him with his Fear of Thunder, which was ſo great as to make him hide himſelf in a Cellar till the Storm was over; becauſe that Infirmity was excuſable, on account of the Accident which firſt occaſioned it. — As he was travelling one Night in *Spain*, the Thunder fell ſo near his Litter, that it killed a Slave who held a Flambeau to light him[z]. In Memory of this Event, he built a Temple on the *Capitoline* Hill, and dedicated it to *Jupiter* the *Thunderer;* --- a new Deity, never heard of before. Thither he went regularly to pay Homage to this God of his own creating; and the *Prince's* Temple ſoon became, of Courſe, the moſt frequented of any. On this Occaſion, *Auguſtus* had a Dream, in which he thought he ſaw *Jupiter Capitolinus*, who complained, that his new, but bad, Neighbour robbed him of his Worſhippers; and that he anſwered the angry God, that the Thunderer was only his Porter. When awake, he recollected this Dream, and, to verify it, ordered little Bells to be fixed upon the Top of the Temple of *Jupiter* the *Thunderer;* Bells being then generally uſed by Porters, and put upon Doors.

When we read, or indeed only hear, of any remarkable Perſonage, we are apt to form to ourſelves an Idea of his Make and Figure. *Sueto-*

[z] *Sueton.* in Aug. § XXIX.

nius has been very particular in his Deſcription of *Auguſtus*, who, as he informs us[3], was what is generally called a very handſome Man, in every Stage of Life; but negligent of his Perſon. He hated all Affectation and Niceneſs in Dreſs, ſo much as to regret even the Time it coſt to dreſs his Hair, at which ſeveral Slaves were buſied at once, whilſt he wrote or read. Mildneſs and Serenity were pictured in his Countenance, whilſt his Eyes were ſo piercing as to dazzle thoſe he looked at. Like *Alexander*, and the ſame is ſaid of *Lewis* the XIVth, he was pleaſed when any one looked down, not to meet his Eyes. He was of a middle Stature, or rather ſhort; but ſo well proportioned, that he did not appear little, but by Compariſon, if a taller Man chanced to ſtand next to him.

Such are the principal Out-lines, from which an Idea may be formed of the Heart and Mind of this famous Emperor, the Reſtorer of Peace and good Order in *Rome*, and throughout the World; and therein far more deſerving of our Praiſes, than *Julius* or *Alexander*, for their warlike Qualities or Conqueſts. Of all his Virtues, Prudence, and the Extent and Solidity of his Views, hold inconteſtably the firſt Rank, and are his chief Characteriſtics. ---- But the Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that I here ſpeak of *Auguſtus*, and not of *Octavius*; --- two Men ſo widely different, as to occaſion that memorable Saying

[3] *Suet.* in Aug. § LXXIX.

which contains a very juſt Judgment of the whole Life of this Prince, " — He did ſo much Hurt " to the *Roman* Republic, and to Mankind, that " he ought never to have been born; and ſo " much Good, that he ought never to have died."

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